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DECEMBER 19, 1969

Will There Be a Recession?

TIME



Economist  
Milton Friedman

**SPECIAL SECTION**  
**Into The '70s: From Violence to New Values**

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# A Christmas Prayer

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Let us pray that strength and courage abundant be given to all who work for a world of reason and understanding \* that the good that lies in every man's heart may day by day be magnified \* that men will come to see more clearly not that which divides them, but that which unites them \* that each hour may bring us closer to a final victory, not of nation over nation, but of man over his own evils and weaknesses \* that the true spirit of this Christmas Season—its joy, its beauty, its hope, and above all its abiding faith—may live among us \* that the blessings of peace be ours—the peace to build and grow, to live in harmony and sympathy with others, and to plan for the future with confidence.

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THE JOURNEY OF THE MAGI by Benozzo Gozzoli

You are cordially invited to visit a spectacular Christmas exhibit—illuminated reproductions of Renaissance masterpieces telling the story of the birth of Christ—now on view at the Time & Life Exhibition Center, 50th Street and the Avenue of the Americas, New York City. Twenty-five works from the great museums of the world, reproduced in exact size and color through painstaking photography techniques, reflect the everlasting hold the Christmas story has on the hearts of men. The exhibit is open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday, and from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. on Saturdays and Sundays, through January 4. There is no admission charge.

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# LETTERS

## The My Lai Massacre

Sir: Perhaps the horror-filled memory of My Lai will awaken more of us to the belated knowledge that no nation has a monopoly on goodness, truth, honor and mercy—all the virtues habitually ascribed to Americans, and particularly the American soldier.

BERNICE BALFOUR

Anaheim, Calif.

Sir: Why is the world so horrified? I don't remember hearing any outcry against the air crews who bombed civilians in Germany and Japan. Or is there an army regulation which stipulates that civilians may be killed only when they cannot be seen?

Surely here is another proof of not only the evil but also the idiocy of war.

E. K. ANDERSON

Leicester, England

Sir: In the light of the massacre of innocent civilians at My Lai, doesn't the indictment of the Green Berets for the murder of a double agent seem absurd?

EDWARD A. LASHINS JR.

Forest Hills, N.Y.

Sir: Why the hell all that noise about My Lai? The story of humanity is a long, uninterupted list of atrocities. I remember the Spanish War, Lidice, Babí Yar, Korea, Algeria, the Congo, Mozambique, day after day after day—children murdered—all in my generation.

We are only human beings, and the fittest will survive. Please stop playing with ideals and words, and be prepared, for "something rather dark and bloody" may happen someday in the States, and it won't even be World War III.

JEAN CRÉTÉ

São Paulo, Brazil

Sir: The extermination of the civilian population of My Lai is yet another clear example that man, and not the lion, is the king of the beasts.

HARVEY E. GOLDFINE

San Francisco

Sir: Since when do men have the right to judge a man for murder, when they taught him how? We hand these men guns, teach them to kill, and then expect them to remain mentally intact. If you think the younger generation is screwed up now, wait until you start checking out what's coming home from Viet Nam.

ELLIN POLLACHEK

Elizabeth, N.J.

Sir: Only effete snobs and impudent fools (or is it the other way around?) will blame clean-living American dropouts for the shooting of four-year-old children in My Lai. It needs little reflection to realize that they would have been full-grown and battle-hardened Viet Cong by the time Nixon's secret plan to end the Viet Nam war can be expected to succeed.

J. EDWARD PRIGGEN

Mexico City

Sir: In war the average man will commit atrocities whether he be American, Asian, German, British, Israeli or Arab. War—not the morality of an individual man—should be the subject of all this misplaced soul-searching.

If more people do not realize where the real blame lies instead of looking for

scapegoats and excuses, if more do not condemn this and every war, then this whole mass post-mortem will have been in vain.

JON SEIBRA

Houghton, Mich.

Sir: Under the circumstances, I would think that the Vietnamese might prefer the lions to the Christians.

(MRS.) MARNIE MELLBLOM

Geneva, Switzerland

Sir: Lieut. Calley or his commander, or both, will be tried and convicted and punished, because someone has to be the patsy in any war.

Nineteen years ago today, I was captain in front-line combat in Korea, with orders to shoot anything that moved after dark. We did, and we "won." On D-day in Normandy and for some time afterward, the same order applied in my outfit, and we "won" that war too. So it has always been, is now and will ever be, until some power stops war.

HARRY McDANIEL

Carmel Valley, Calif.

Sir: The phrase "aberrations of soldiers under stress" would have brought a wry smile to the face of George Orwell. What a unique and sanitized way to describe the murder of children and babies.

NORMAN J. GALLO

Carmichael, Calif.

Sir: Let's not allow the issue an undeserved partiality. The village supposedly was a haven for Viet Cong. The people were probably sympathizers with the V.C., and perhaps their direct aid contributed to American combat deaths.

When I was in Viet Nam, our battalion had a young sergeant who had been first on a battle scene where he discovered half a dozen Americans hanging upside down, tied through the ankles like deer, and castrated. The V.C. had attempted to skin their "war prisoners" like we skin animals. Cuts circled their wrists, ankles and thighs from the futile attempts. Yet I do not recall any uproar about the atrocities of the V.C.

It is folly to think that war should be conducted with a cool head and a box score delivered every day to the public.

ROGER GALLAGHER

Lafayette, La.

Sir: O.K. So Lieut. Calley stands indicted as the heinous mastermind of the whole My Lai incident. In the interest of judicial equity, however, shouldn't Nixon, Johnson, et al., be co-defendants?

PAULA KATZ

Woodmere, N.Y.

Sir: Your story states: "So far, the tale of My Lai has only been told by a few Vietnamese survivors—all of them pro-V.C. . . ." It is a shame that all the pro-American My Lai survivors have not been heard from.

RANDY TENNEN

Oberlin, Ohio

Sir: I will go on active duty as an Army lieutenant in January, and what with the Green Beret case and now this one, I am not at all certain that there is any future for me. If one side doesn't get me, the other will.

ROBERT C. MEEHAN

Pittsburgh

Sir: Let's have that line again about saving South Viet Nam from Communism. . . .  
STEVE CHASE

Covina, Calif.

## Nominations Are Open

Sir: I would like to nominate Vice President Spiro Agnew for Man of the Year. He has stood up and loudly and forcefully proclaimed what the great majority of this country has been softly murmuring. Surely this man was heaven-sent.

ALLEN CURD

Odesa, Texas

Sir: Neil Armstrong. There can be no competitor for the title within 238,857 miles.

MICHAEL A. REARDON

Helena, Mont.

Sir: Mayor John Lindsay. His victory four years ago was a sensation, and his re-election gives new hope for the future.

TAGE JENSEN

Copenhagen

Sir: Richard Ridenhour. Because his story may spur to action some of us silent pacifists and change the locus of that silent majority.

(MRS.) SUSAN KLENNER

Los Angeles

Sir: I say the Kennedys: "Family of the Decade."

MICHAEL MCSWEENEY

Redondo Beach, Calif.

Sir: The plane hijacker.

RUTH REIK

Lake Geneva, Wis.

Sir: I nominate the Honorable U.S. District Judge Julius J. Hoffman. In this age of protecting the criminal instead of the victim, it is heartening to see a man who will not sit weakly by and permit his courtroom to be turned into a circus.

SONDRA L. WARD

McAlester, Okla.

Sir: Beatle Paul McCartney should be bestowed with this honor for living down the biggest hoax—"Paul is dead"—of the year.

BOB HILBRECHT

Stamford, Conn.

Sir: I choose Ralph Nader, for his unselfish honesty.

PAUL MANN

Randolph, Mass.

Sir: All the men and women in the U.S. who are actively fighting to preserve and protect our threatened wildlife and our natural environment.

WILLIAM A. VERHULST

Phoenix, Ariz.

## Now They Do It!

Sir: Hurray for the implementation of the welcomed and more equitable draft lottery bill [Dec. 12]—but it is too damn late!

(SP/5) DOUGLAS D. YOUNGDAHL

U.S.A.  
A.P.O. San Francisco

Sir: I was alarmed when my birthday was drawn in the opening minutes of the lottery. Thinking that all the blame for my black birthday rested on my mother,

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I telephoned home for words of comfort. "Congratulations," she said sarcastically. "This is the first time in your life that you've been in the top third of your class."

I think I'll enlist today.

PETER DOYLE

Boston

Sir: The only change resulting from the new lottery induction system is that the blame is shifted from General Hershey to the Lord.

FRITZ A. DEUTSCH

Euclid, Ohio

Sir:

*So let high-sighted tyranny range on;  
Till each man drop by lottery.*

—Julius Caesar

BETH FITZGERALD

Belleville, N.J.

### Call for Help

Sir: It is pathetically easy to question the motives of the student radicals [Nov. 28] and to doubt their sincerity. With their ability to organize and seemingly endless funds to publicize and attend demonstrations, why do they not organize groups to clean rats and other pests from infested areas; help indigents feed, clothe and house themselves; tutor children and adults in backward areas; organize and staff voluntary centers to help the unemployed find jobs and care for children of low-income working mothers?

We of the Establishment, through our service organizations, charities and taxes for welfare programs, are doing what we can. We could use their help far more than their protests.

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## You would like it in the Northern Plains: Dubuque, Iowa

On stage at famed Terence Donaghoe Hall at Clarke College, the exciting Dubuque City Youth Ballet Company enchants a Christmas audience with their performance of Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker Suite." Professionally trained, these dedicated young artists are sharing in the rich cultural climate prevalent in Dubuque, one of northeastern Iowa's most progressive cities. Dubuque's geographic location

has created a dynamic industrial climate as well. As an important river port along the Mississippi, Dubuque is a natural transportation and trade center. And over 130 firms, producing a wide variety of products, make Dubuque their home. Helping Dubuque thrive is an abundant supply of natural gas, piped in by Northern Natural Gas Company, and distributed by Peoples Natural Gas. For detailed

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ills, then drop out and complain. The  
money and energy involved in only one  
Moratorium could provide thousands of  
meals for impoverished families.

M. P. JELOVCHAN

Jacksonville

All Work and No ...

Sir: I received your Nov. 28 issue of  
PlayTime. My copy does not contain the  
middle foldout. Will you please send?

For your information, three astronauts  
flew to the moon that week. I cannot re-  
member their names, but maybe you can  
get the information from Hugh Hefner.

JOSEPH G. GRACA

Ames, Iowa

Sir: How Timely that your Thanksgiving  
issue served us the great American favorite  
—broad-breasted turkey.

MARJORY OTTE

Columbus

Sir: Many, many thanks for your en-  
tertaining cover story on filmland's most  
exciting and beautiful actress, May Won-  
der Woman continue to give Mere Man a  
"real good time" for many years.

ROBERT C. HERBER

Cinnaminson, N.J.

Sir: The following concepts are very sim-  
ple to understand: 1) Sex is interesting.  
2) People like it. 3) Raquel Welch is  
sexy. 4) Therefore people like her. Sim-  
ple, right? Not to the author of your ar-  
ticle on Raquel/Myra. He thinks that the  
mystery of Raquel is a profundity ex-  
plainable only in terms of complex Jung-  
ian theories of archetypal behavior.

MRS. MICHAEL L. WILSON

Southwick, Mass.

The Copper

Sir: The failure of the television camera  
on the moon [Nov. 28] points to NASA's  
inability to accept the technical expertise  
of those of us outside the space industry.  
Had they asked for my assistance, I would  
have recommended the Light Energy Neu-  
tralization System Cover and Protective  
Shielding. Of course, NASA might want to  
follow its well-known penchant for acro-  
nyms and rename the system LENS CAPS.

JAMES L. REED

Corona, Calif.

Address Letters to TIME, TIME & LIFE Build-  
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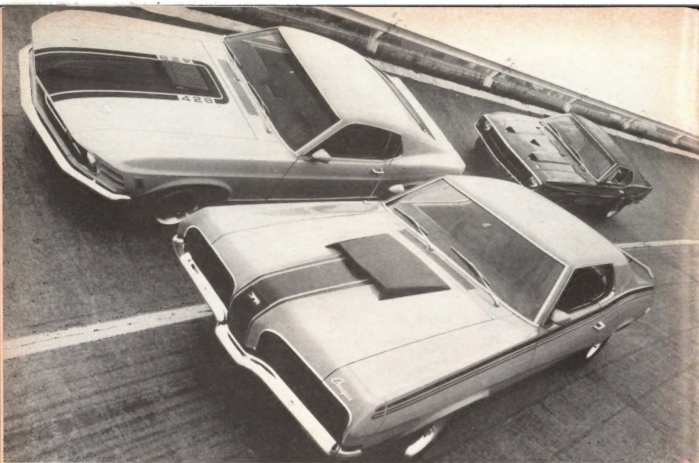
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The Mustang Mach I, on the left has a 351 cubic-inch displacement Ford V8 engine. It rolls out with competition shocks, springs, and stabilizer bar.

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# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
Dec. 19, 1969 Vol. 94, No. 25

## THE NATION

### AMERICAN NOTES

#### Mail Call

In his two televised attacks on the news media, Vice President Spiro Agnew urged readers and viewers to join him in commenting on the performance of the nation's newspapers and television stations. Thousands accepted his invitation, and the result has been one of the greatest outpourings of mail in American journalistic history. The three major TV networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, have received more than 130,000 letters, telephone calls and telegrams, most of them supporting Agnew. Several newspapers report a greater volume of critical mail than at any time since the McCarthy era.

Many of the letters are expectedly heavy with vitriol. Some show an irrational readiness to blame the messenger for the message and hold the news media responsible for the social ills that they report. A significant number reflect a disturbing increase in overt anti-Semitism. NBC said last week that it had received more than 500 anti-Jewish letters; the New York Times reported a dozen such letters, more than it has received on any issue since the Arab-Israeli war.

Angry as all the mail is, it could be worse—and has been for the television networks, where issues more vital to viewers than politics are at stake. NBC, for example, has received 60,000 Agnew-inspired letters. It got far more when it canceled the space opera *Star Trek* at the end of last season.

#### The Spiro Rock

Spiro Agnew may anger some, enthrall others, but for at least one American the Vice President has been nothing less than inspirational. Songwriter Lee Morris, 49, of Surfside, Fla., whose titles include *Blue Velvet* and *Thirsty for Your Kisses*, has been moved to write the *Ballad of Spiro Agnew*. The song is scheduled to be recorded on the Impudent Parasite label by Morris, who will be accompanied by a group called the Effete Snobs. A sample of the lyrics, to be sung to what the songwriter calls a "march rock" tempo:

*He travels from the East to West  
From the North to South  
And everywhere that Spiro goes  
He opens up his mouth.*

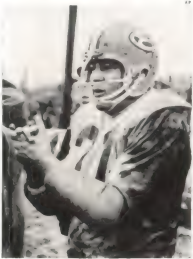
*His audience keeps listening;  
They never do get bored  
For Spiro is a Household Word  
He's called the mouth that roared.*

#### The Right to Sit

Does a student have the right to remain seated while classmates stand to pledge allegiance to the flag? A New York federal judge resolved that rather special question in favor of two seventh grade girls in Queens, New York City. The pupils did not wish to join in the pledge, and had been suspended for refusing to obey their teacher's orders to leave the room. The New York school board was understandably concerned about the need to "prevent disorders that may develop as the reaction of infuriated members of the majority," observed Judge Orrin G. Judd. But the girls had not disrupted the class, and "the Constitution does not recognize fears of a disorderly reaction as ground for resisting peaceful expressions of views." The standing majority, in effect, has no right to unseat the silent minority.

#### Fuzz with Humor

Grunting through a rainy afternoon, the Pigs triumphed over the Goats by a score of 19-0 at Eastern Michigan University, winning the cherished Pig Bowl trophy—a slop pail. The real winners, however, were needy children of the Ann Arbor area. Some 3,000 tickets were sold for the benefit game to buy Christmas toys. The Pig Bowl was also, in a small way, a victory for reason and humor. The Goats were none other than the police of Ann Arbor, and the Pigs were the Washtenaw County sheriff's deputies, who know how to put an epithet to good use in the cause of better community relations.



GOAT IN UNIFORM  
Putting an epithet to use.



MCCORMACK

## CONGRESS:

PRODDED by the presidential threat of a post-Christmas special session, one of the slowest-moving Congresses in U.S. history belatedly bestirred itself. The result was the busiest legislative week of the year. The House passed four major bills—on voting rights, the antipoverty program, military appropriations and foreign aid—and in the process advanced the Administration's dual drives to cut costs and to please the South. The runaway Senate, however, ignored the direct challenge of a presidential veto and beat off all attempts to knock out any of the extravagant items of a politically appealing but economically ruinous tax package (TIME, Dec. 12). Combining tax cuts with new social security benefits, the bill would sabotage the Administration's campaign against inflation (see BUSINESS). All that frenzied action only served to underscore a harsh fact: the nation's legislative machinery is uncomfortably close to breaking down.

The crisis is not the familiar one of a President at loggerheads with a Congress controlled by the opposition party. It is more a case of neither knowing what the other wants, of neither being sure of its own directions. The President has waited unreasonably long to propose; the Congress has taken unconscionable time to dispose.

**Complete Breakdown.** Nearly everyone shares in the blame. One G.O.P. House leader says that he was "utterly amazed that the Administration didn't have a program when it came in—it's one of the great mysteries." Democratic House Leader Carl Albert accused the Administration of "repeated delays, obfuscation, confusion and lack of leadership." President Nixon, replying to the accusation at his press conference last week, insisted that some of his legislation has languished in Congress for



FORD & SCOTT

## DELAY AND DISARRAY

up to six months. Another key Republican in the House blames the Democrats, claiming that there is a "complete breakdown between the chairmen of the committees and the Democratic leadership—they don't know what they're doing." There is some accuracy in each of those claims.

Democratic House Speaker John McCormack, 78, has been shaken by both advancing age and disclosures of influence peddlers using his office, and has turned more cautious than ever. "McCormack doesn't want to offend anybody: he won't take positions that a leader ought to take," contends one of his Republican rivals. Albert has failed to pick up the slack, rarely rises to stake out policy positions. Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield moves commendably once bills break out of committees, but he has been unable to discourage his colleagues from interminable chatter.

Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott has infuriated many of his G.O.P. colleagues by opposing the President on the Haynsworth nomination and publicly complaining that the Administration ignores his advice on tactics. He sympathizes with those moderate Republicans who are openly angry about both their lack of access to the White House and the Nixon-Agnew tactics that alienate the nation's blacks and the young. House G.O.P. Leader Gerald Ford lacks dynamism, but is beginning to show parliamentary agility. In dealing with Congress, the Administration's Cabinet members are proving amateurish, and the President's liaison man Bryce Harlow is a slow mover, overburdened by other duties.

**Counting on Wilbur.** In one way or another, nearly every congressional amendment was on display in last week's Senate fight over the "Christmas tree" tax-

reform bill. The fight to turn the bill back into a noninflationary package that the President could accept was led by Delaware Republican John Williams rather than any of the party's Senate leaders. He tried to knock out Democratic additions such as an extra \$200 tax exemption for each dependent and a 15% rise in social security benefits, but failed to get twelve Republicans to join him, and lost 60 to 31 on the amendment. The bill faces an uncertain future in a House-Senate conference committee. The irony there, as Republican Ford puts it, is that the President is "depending on Wilbur to straighten it out." He means, of course, Democrat Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. The most likely area of compromise may be to stretch out the times at which the final bill's provisions will become effective, thus lessening the immediate financial impact.

The disorder was equally evident in actions taken by the House on four major bills:

**FOREIGN AID.** Already slashed a full billion dollars below the President's request (to \$1.6 billion), the foreign-aid appropriation was headed for defeat midway through the roll call. Democratic liberals, longtime defenders of such aid, were dead set against a provision for spending \$54.5 million on a squadron of F-4 fighter aircraft for Nationalist China. Counting heads, Minority Leader Ford knew that his only hope was to swing Republican votes. He latched on to the argument that the bill contained funds for Vietnamization of the conflict in Viet Nam and would help end the war. This persuaded six Republicans to switch and the bill passed by a mere 200 to 195.

**VOTING RIGHTS.** Instead of extending the Voting Rights Act of 1965—which safeguards the right of blacks to be reg-

istered as voters in seven Southern states and has actually led to the registration of some 800,000 blacks—the Administration proposed a new law that would apply to all 50 states. On the face of it, this seems only fair. But while the present law requires states to get Justice Department or federal court approval for any changes in registration procedures, the new act would require the Department to find any abuse of voting rights on its own and then file suits to stop it. The Judiciary Committee rejected the bill, and no Republican member of that committee wanted to lead a floor fight for it. Ford again stepped into the breach, offered it as a substitute for extending the present bill. The substitute trailed at the end of one roll call. Ford and Republican Whip Les Arends pressured those Republicans who had not yet voted, arguing that the President's prestige was on the line. To everyone's surprise, the Administration bill passed, but barely, 208 to 203. Most surprised of all was Clarence M. Mitchell, legislative director of the N.A.A.C.P. "The Nixon Administration," he charged, "has sold us out to get the segregation vote in the South."

**MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS.** After a testy but short debate, the House cut more than \$5 billion from the Administration's request for defense funds. Opponents of the ABM could muster only 25 votes in an attempt to remove \$359.5 million to begin deployment of the weapon. The \$69.9 billion package carried 330 to 33.

**ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM.** Democrats rescued the Administration from a revolt by Republican Congressmen, who tried to give states a veto power over community action programs funded by the Federal Government. The overconfident coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats suffered from absenteeism and lost 231 to 163.

**Emergency Extensions.** Whereas the House has finally completed work on all of its appropriations bills for the year, the Senate has passed only five of the 14 required to finance the Government's operations. That means most departments are operating on emergency extensions of last year's level of support, and new programs are stalled. In school aid, for example, districts needed to know last summer what money would be available for this school year; although it is now nearly half over, they still cannot make plans. The financial crisis is not a mere matter of congressional sloth. The complexity of governmental financing is outrunning the ability of Congress to handle it, and the cumbersome procedure of tackling each funding twice—first to authorize the use of money for specific purposes, then to appropriate actual amounts—is straining the legislative machinery. Cries for procedural reform are rising again. With so many problems plaguing Congress—as well as the nation—the need for more efficiency on the Hill is fast becoming critical.



## THE WAR

### Nixon's Timetable

The President has always been ambiguous about his exact schedule for ending U.S. participation in the Viet Nam War. But last week Richard Nixon laid out his timetable more clearly than ever before to a concerned and respected Republican Senator who was one of the persistent critics of Lyndon Johnson's war policies. Nixon's guest came away from the meeting convinced that the President intends to get out of Viet Nam "come hell or high water."

Nixon told the Senator that he wants to "virtually eliminate" American involvement in Viet Nam by 1972. To meet this goal, he will pull out "nearly



NIXON AT PRESS CONFERENCE  
Speaking more openly.

all" of the ground combat troops before the end of 1970; he believes that American casualties will have become "insignificant" by then. At the end of 1971, he intends to have withdrawn most of the combat support units as well. Thus, by election year 1972, the U.S. would have substantially fewer than 40,000 soldiers, serving only as advisers, in Viet Nam.

Nixon expects the enemy to "cooperate" in this exit. The President has been told by his intelligence sources that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong are currently in trouble, that they have had their fill of heavy fighting. As Nixon sees it, his withdrawal plan will allow the Vietnamese Communists to "save face" by claiming that they drove the Americans home. He has also been advised that neither the Chinese nor the Soviets are pushing Hanoi to increase the present low level of fighting.

**Well Supplied.** The enemy will be watched carefully for anything resembling a winter offensive. If it fails to materialize by February, the rate of troop withdrawal—now running at about 15,000 monthly—will be increased. The

Saigon government has told the President that it can survive the removal of 100,000 U.S. troops in 1969, and up to 180,000 in 1970. The Nixon timetable has been drawn up accordingly.

One factor not included in this formula is the possibility that the South Vietnamese army might be unable to hold its own once U.S. troops leave. Nixon seems convinced that Saigon can manage, but the Senator came away with the impression that, in any case, Nixon is determined to be out by 1972, leaving the South Vietnamese well supplied with U.S. arms and aid but otherwise on their own to succeed or fail—or strike a bargain with their enemies.

At the press conference last week, the President said that he would soon address the country on Viet Nam. The speech will probably come just before Christmas. Among other things, Nixon will announce another major troop withdrawal—probably about 40,000 men, bringing the total withdrawal this year to 100,000.

**Moscow Visit.** There are perhaps two reasons why Nixon is speaking more openly about his plans for Viet Nam. The enemy is quiescent as the situation in South Viet Nam continues to stabilize and improve. And the Paris peace talks are getting nowhere. As he said at his press conference, the chances for a negotiated settlement in Paris are "not good." He further implied that he had no immediate plans to replace his two chief delegates at the talks, Henry Cabot Lodge and Lawrence E. Walsh. Instead, the President named Career Diplomat Philip C. Habib, who served under Lodge and Averell Harriman, as acting chief of the delegation.

**TIME** Moscow Bureau Chief Jerrold Schecter submitted a list of questions concerning settlement of the war to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the National Liberation Front, who recently visited Moscow. Tho has operated for the past few years from a succession of hidden bunkers and jungle camps, and is the chief political voice of the Viet Cong guerrillas. His replies, returned to Moscow in writing last week, showed no departure from the hard line, and thus confirm Nixon's pessimism about a negotiated settlement.

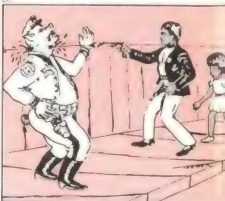
Tho repeated the N.L.F.'s rather vague plan for a temporary coalition government composed of "each social class" in South Viet Nam and each distinct political tendency. During the interim before elections, Tho told Schecter, no party should be "in a position to exert pressure on the population and oblige it to adopt a given political regime." For what it is worth, Tho promised to free political prisoners, presumably meaning pacifists jailed by the present Saigon regime, and to "forbid" terrorism or acts of revenge against those who had joined either side. Just how Tho—or anyone else—would guarantee that the elections would be genuinely free and that there would be no reprisals was left unexplained.

**EVERY** month they serve free breakfasts to some 10,000 needy black children, but they also teach the kids a song: "There is a pig upon the hill. If you don't kill him, the Panthers will." They have set up free health clinics for blacks in several cities, but the *Black Panther Coloring Book* shows a black man shooting a pig-faced policeman as a young black girl looks on. The caption: "Black Brothers Protect Black Children."

They carefully kept order at an Oakland rally the day Panther Defense Minister Huey Newton's trial began, even cleaning up the street after the crowd left: but they maintain alarming arsenals that include grenades and automatic weapons. Their stated aim is to give the black American full pride and dignity; yet though they claim self-defense, they are committed to organized violence. In a last month issue of *The Black Panther*, Information Minister Eldridge Cleaver wrote: "We call for the violent overthrow of the fascist imperialist United States Government."

**Bloody Raids.** These ambivalent tactics and extremist rhetoric characterize the Black Panther Party. Over the past two years, says Panther Lawyer Charles Garry, 28 Black Panthers have died in police gunfire. Newton is serving a two-to-15-year sentence for manslaughter. Cleaver, arrested after a shoot-out with police in Oakland, jumped bail a year ago and turned up last month in Algiers. Chairman Bobby Seale, one of the Chicago Eight, was sentenced to four years in jail for contempt last month by Judge Julius Hoffman. In the past two weeks, with bloody police raids on Panther centers in Chicago and Los Angeles, the war between police and Panthers has come to a climax. For the first time, these events brought cries of sympathy from moderate black leaders who once shied away from any identification with the Panthers.

The latest battle between Panthers and police erupted in Los Angeles last week. It came against a background of



PANTHER COLORING BOOK  
"Black Brothers Protect Black Children."



## AND PANTHERS: GROWING PARANOIA

continuing racial enmity, worsened by last May's re-election of Mayor Sam Yorty over black Councilman Tom Bradley. At 5:30 a.m. last Monday, two Panther offices and one private home were attacked by 300 Los Angeles policemen armed with arrest warrants, search warrants, shotguns, AR-15 rifles, tear-gas grenades, satchel charges, one helicopter, 6-ft. steel battering rams, a National Guard armored personnel carrier, and a fire department "jet-ax" used to cut through the roof of burning buildings. The principal target was Panther headquarters, a two-story brown-and-white brick building at 41st Street and Central Avenue. There, the battle raged for four hours and 45 minutes.

According to police, four Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) men knocked on the door, announced who they were and set to work at once with the battering ram. The door burst open on the third swing. In the police version, the SWAT team stumbled into a hail of automatic-weapons fire: the Panthers insist that the police opened fire first. It was nearly an hour before newsmen arrived, and when they did, police kept them more than two blocks away. "The fury of the gun battle was right out of Viet Nam," reports TIME correspondent Martin Sullivan. "Hundreds of rounds were fired. The police hurled everything in their armory at the building: that it still stands is a miracle." When the fray was finally over, 13 Panthers stumbled out through the tear gas and gun smoke to surrender, three of them wounded—including the two women who had been inside. Three policemen were injured.

Now, Sullivan observes, "there is not a pane of glass left intact. Bullets have gouged great chunks out of the brickwork. Buckshot has ripped away the posters that used to plaster Panther headquarters." Only a picture of Cleaver still remains, and a sign that says: "Free Huey. Feed Hungry Children." On Wednesday, a group of Panthers pushed aside yellow sawhorses blocking the entrance and marched back in, disregarding a front door warning put up by the Department of Buildings and Safety: UNSAFE—DO NOT ENTER.

**Bullets or Nails.** Neither Panther nor policeman died in the Los Angeles shoot-out. That had not been the case the week before in Chicago, where police bullets killed Panther Leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. After interviewing survivors and investigating ballistic evidence, Panther lawyers contend that the police burst in and began firing without warning, killing Clark in the first volley and pumping fatal shots into Hampton as he lay in bed. State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who organized the raid, denounced press and television accounts of the Panthers' story as "an orgy of sensationalism."

The police insist that they opened

fire only after they were greeted with a 12-gauge shotgun shell through the closed front door. To the Chicago *Tribune*, which he praised for its "accurate, fair and balanced account," Hanrahan gave "exclusive" photographs that the newspaper said showed a hole in the front door made by a 12-gauge shotgun slug, a bullet-riddled bathroom door and two holes in the backdoor jamb made by shots fired by Panthers inside the building.

Skeptical newsmen revisited the apartment and discovered that they could find no sign of the shotgun shell in the hallway outside the front door: that the bullet-riddled door led to a bed-

chamber? Federal law-enforcement officials deny it. A federal interdepartmental intelligence unit watches the Panthers as well as white militant groups—S.D.S. and the Weathermen, for example. The FBI admits only to keeping an eye on Panther activities and exchanging information with state and local law officers. Actually, what may appear to be a concerted campaign against the Panthers is not difficult to account for.

By Justice Department estimates, the Panthers number between 500 and 1,800 in some 40 chapters around the U.S. The Panthers themselves refuse to give figures; echoing Malcolm X, they contend that "those who know don't say,



MARCHING PANTHERS GIVE BLACK POWER SALUTE  
Jumpy men take no chances.

room, not to the bathroom; and that the door-jamb "holes" were actually nail heads. Headlined the rival *Sun-Times*: "Those Bullet Holes Aren't." Hanrahan disclaimed responsibility for the *Tribune* captions ("We're not editors"), but *Tribune* Editor Clayton Kirkpatrick said that they came from material provided by the police and by Hanrahan's office. Late last week, at the request of black and white civic organizations, the Justice Department promised an investigation of the shootings, and Cook County Coroner Andrew Toman pledged a blue-ribbon inquest.

**Design of Genocide?** For Fred Hampton's funeral last week, about 1,000 blacks and a scattering of whites gathered at the First Baptist Church in suburban Melrose Park. Said the Rev. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, who succeeded Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: "There is a calculated design of genocide in this country."

Is there? Specifically, are the raids against Panther offices part of a national design to destroy the Panther lead-

ers and those who say don't know." The members include both men and women. Since the once familiar uniform of black leather jacket, turtleneck sweater and black beret has been so widely affected by non-Panthers, they now wear it less frequently. Panther funds come mainly from the 25¢ newspaper, which sells as many as 100,000 copies a week, and from speaking fees (or Panther leaders—although law-enforcement officials contend that the Panthers occasionally participate in robberies and get a one-third split of the take).

The Panthers make little secret of stockpiling arms: where it is legal, they brandish them in public. "Off the pigs"—kill the police—is a frequent Panther refrain. What the Panthers view as an extermination plot, says one federal official, is the human response of a cop confronted by someone who has publicly vowed to kill him. "That's no plot," the official says. "It's a perfectly natural reaction by a policeman facing someone who has said, even boasted, that he is prepared to shoot it out." That, added to the perennial edginess



**PANTHERS ARRESTED IN LOS ANGELES SHOOT-OUT**  
After four hours and 45 minutes, surrender.

of a white policeman in the ghetto and the longstanding and usually merited hostility of blacks to the police, makes cops confronting Panthers very jumpy men who take no chances.

To the Panthers, their organization is a means of defending blacks too often harassed by white police. The proportion of blacks serving on local police forces is growing, but it is still woefully small. While many blacks serve as MPs in the Army, few take jobs as civilian police when they are discharged because of the stigma attached to police by the black community. The Panthers see policemen—white or black—as symbols of a white society that is oppressive and racist.

**Occupying Army.** A November staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence quotes one Panther spokesman on the key to Panther ideology. "We start with the basic definition," he said, "that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage." From that quasi-Marxist assumption, absurd to most whites but increasingly appealing to some blacks, the Panthers conclude that the police are an occupying army. As the staff study puts it, for the Panthers "violence against the police and other agents of symbols of authority is not crime but heroism, not merely an unlawful act but a revolutionary gesture against an illegitimate government." When Huey Newton and Bobby Seale started the Black Panther Party in Oakland in October 1966, their founding statement ended with the opening section of the Declaration of Independence.

Much of Panther rhetoric is couched in Marxist-Maoist terms. One of the few national Panther leaders not in jail or in exile is Raymond Masai Hewitt, the 28-year-old ex-Marine who is Panther Minister of Education. He told TIME San Francisco Bureau Chief Jes-

se Birnbaum: "We know we can learn from the struggles of China, Korea and Russia. We use it as a guide to action. An ideology has to be a living thing. But the Black Panther Party is not really Maoist." Still, while they may not take all of their own inflammatory rhetoric seriously, other Americans cannot help taking them at their word.

The Panthers have tangled increasingly with police in a dozen cities, and in most cases there is the characteristic dispute over who started it. Panthers contend that cops have regularly harassed and provoked them since the early days of the movement in Oakland. Law-enforcement officials in Washington point to Panther attacks on police in Jersey City, and to the New York indictment of 22 Panthers last April for plotting to kill policemen and dynamite police stations, stores and a railroad right-of-way. Blacks note angrily that 15 of the New York suspects are being held in lieu of \$100,000 bail, while four young

whites arrested for actually setting dynamite charges in Manhattan office buildings last month had bail put at from \$20,000 to \$50,000.

**Incipient Tragedy.** Society has a duty to defend itself against private armies; there can be no argument that Panther arms caches should be broken up just like those of the Mafia or the Ku Klux Klan or the Minutemen. But because of the special history of injustice to blacks, there is incipient tragedy in the use of conventional police tactics against them. Besides, says Lou Smith, a black who heads Operation Bootstrap in Los Angeles, "the police don't use that kind of stuff on the Klan or the Minutemen. You don't find police shooting them down." It is, says Daniel Walker, head of the commission that studied police brutality at the 1968 Chicago convention, "one of those unfortunate situations in which one story is almost totally believed by the white community and another story is almost totally believed by the black community."

To most whites, violence is not justifiable; to an increasing number of blacks, it is. While there is no evidence of a police conspiracy to annihilate the Panthers, more and more blacks believe it to be so. Says Los Angeles' Lou Smith: "They're going to make every one of us Panthers." Even middle-class blacks are rallying. Edward Boyd, a New York marketing executive with a son at Yale and two younger boys at Collegiate, a fashionable Manhattan private school, admits: "I'm changing my mind and they will have my support." The growing paranoia of many police feeds on that of the Panthers. For the American white majority, the risk of an all-out police attack on the Panthers is that it will bring about precisely what it is presumably intended to forestall: creation of a large, militant force of armed, angry blacks dedicated to achieving justice at whatever cost in violence to white society—and to themselves.



**NEWTON**



**SEALE**

*Ambivalent tactics and extremist rhetoric.*

## CITIES

### Crackdown in New Jersey

*I want to come home. I want my home to be in a decent city, a place my wife, my children and myself can be proud of.*

The words were spoken by Hugh Joseph Addonizio in 1961 when he returned from 14 years as a Democratic Congressman and was sworn in as mayor of Newark, N.J. His ambitions for Newark were as commendable as they were formidable. Lying across the Hudson River in sight of Manhattan's towers, Newark is a grimy, sprawling industrial ghetto, heir in full measure to nearly every urban malady of modern America. Its rich are few, its poor numerous, its population of 405,000 nearly equally and often acrimoniously divided between black and white. The miasma of the oil refineries in the nearby Jersey meadows hangs over the city, and so, too, does the pervasive smog of crime and corruption.

Addonizio is an affable, portly first-generation Italian American, now 55, and on one count he seemed a good man to tackle Newark's problems. He brought to his mayoralty the reputation of a promising politician whose liberalism on the race issue could serve as a bridge between the city's blacks and whites. By another yardstick, he was not the man for the job. He had been launched in politics in 1946 by Newark Democratic Boss Dennis Carey, who was in search of a congressional candidate. "I figured," Carey once said, "that I needed a guinea with a name that long." Addonizio, a much-decorated war hero, met Carey's callous specifications. Carey delivered the nomination, and Addonizio edged out the incumbent Congressman by fewer than 1,800 votes. En route to an eighth congressional term, Addonizio amazed friends and opponents when he gave up his safe seat in the House to make the race for mayor of Newark. He won, mocking an opponent's charge that the "invisible hand" of the Mafia was behind his candidacy.

**Claim of Immunity.** Addonizio's hopes for Newark were shattered in the city's bloody racial upheaval in 1967, which lasted six days and left 26 dead and more than \$10 million in property damage. A special Governor's commission set up to look into the causes of the riot laid much of the blame for the upheaval to the "pervasive feeling of corruption" in the city. Last week Addonizio's own career and reputation stood in sharp jeopardy. The mayor was summoned before a grand jury to answer questions about his ties to the Mob. Federal investigators wanted to know whether Addonizio knew Mafia Capo Ruggiero ("Richie the Boot") Boiardo or his son Anthony ("Tony Boy"). They also wondered whether he had discussed with members of the city council a contract awarded to the Valentine



MAYOR ADDONIZIO

*A career and a reputation in jeopardy.*

Electric Co., for which the younger Boiardo is a salesman. Claiming the protection of the Fifth, Sixth and 14th Amendments, Addonizio refused to answer every question put to him—including whether he was mayor and when he was elected.

Addonizio's claim of immunity did not amuse U.S. Attorney Frederick B. Lacey. Lacey marched Addonizio before Federal Judge Robert Shaw and asked him to order the mayor to answer. Shaw declined to issue the order, but did demand that Addonizio explain his refusal in open court. Addonizio justified his silence on the grounds that he felt his answers might help forge a chain of evidence that could incriminate him. He knew the younger Boiardo, he said, and believed that he was under investigation. "Well, I guess that disposes of that one [question]," Shaw commented dryly.

Addonizio is not the only Newark official in trouble. Speaking in Florida the night before Addonizio's grand jury appearance, Attorney General John Mitchell revealed that he soon expected "a massive indictment of public officials on a local level" in a state corrupted by organized crime. He also disclosed that federal authorities were on the verge of cracking "probably the largest gambling syndicate that's ever been broken up in this country." Although Mitchell's unusual advance buildup did not identify the state, Justice Department officials said it was New Jersey.

**Strike Force.** It would hardly be surprising if it is. New Jersey was ten years the domain of the late Vito Genovese, and since his death its rackets

have been under the suzerainty of Gerardo ("Jerry") Catena. Nearly two years ago, the office of Essex County Prosecutor Joseph Lordi began to study the relationship between city officials and Mafiosi. In January, the Federal Government got into the act. A strike force of investigators from several agencies descended upon the state. Working with state officials and information developed by Lordi and the Essex County probe, it secured bribery and conspiracy indictments against two IRS officials, the head of a local contracting company and an accountant.

Whatever comes out of the continuing investigations, Addonizio—and Newark—is in trouble. Federal authorities have left to State Attorney General Arthur Sills the decision of whether to enforce a New Jersey law providing for the removal from office of public officials who refuse to waive immunity before a grand jury. Addonizio faces tough opposition if he decides to seek re-election in May. While the city's blacks are politically divided, Addonizio has a determined challenger on the right, City Councilman Anthony Imperiale, an independent whose anti-black stand has won him wide support from Newark's white lower middle class, has already announced his intention of running for mayor. For Newark voters who truly want to make the city a community of which they can be proud, the election shapes up as not much of a choice.

## THE SENATE

### Cheap Victories

While most of Washington worries about inflation, seven Senators seem to have found a miraculous way to beat it. Each reported to Congress last week that he had spent absolutely nothing getting elected in 1968. Such a feat of ledgerdom is not restricted by ideology or party: the Stingy Silent Seven include Arizona's Barry Goldwater, Georgia's Herman Talmadge, California's Alan Cranston, Arkansas' J. W. Fulbright and South Dakota's George McGovern.

Their reports expose the futility of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. Designed to limit campaign expenses, the act has never been enforced, and contains so many loopholes that congressional candidates, in effect, often ignore it. Senatorial campaigns can cost more than \$1,000,000, yet the law requires a candidate to report only those expenses of which he has personal knowledge; thus many campaign committees purposely never show their man the books. The law also has a convenient provision that allows the committees to make no federal report at all if they exist in only a single state—as many deliberately do. The result is that unless a state has its own tougher reporting law or a Senator insists on a full disclosure, his expenses, so far as the outside world is concerned, are nothing to speak of.

## The Gourmet Pirate

Lafitte snobs abound in New Orleans, the nominal descendants of Jean and Pierre Lafitte, the famed 19th century pirates.\* Last week the exploits of a new Jean Lafitte enlivened the New Orleans scene. The legend flowered anew when FBI agents walked into the kitchen of the city's posh Plimssol Club, collared its manager-chef, Jean Pierre Lafitte, and charged him with a \$350,000 swindle. The arrest ended a six-year search by federal authorities. But Lafitte—who naturally claims to be descended from his namesake—seemed unwilling to admit that his colorful career was over. "Just when we have everything," he told his wife, "it looks like we'll have to run again." Although Lafitte de-

clined to elaborate, he could be running from either the feds or the mob. Like his predecessor, Lafitte, due to be arraigned in Boston this week, worked for both the law and himself.

**Foreign Legion.** The modern Lafitte's background is as mysterious as his career. Not even the FBI is sure whether Lafitte is his real name, and its "wanted" flyers merely suggest that he is somewhere between 66 and 74 years old and may have been born in Canada, France or the U.S. Lafitte loyally claims U.S. birth. He says that he was born

to the madam of a bawdy house in Louisiana's Cajun country. His mother, he relates, took him to France, abandoned him and left him to be raised by friends. He denies a French police report that he was arrested in 1921 and claims that the authorities picked up a relative whose name he just happened to be using at the time. A matter of record that he does not deny is his enlistment in the French Foreign Legion—and his desertion a few months later.

Lafitte returned to the U.S. in the 1930s. He first came to the attention of the authorities in the early 1940s, when he failed to register for the draft and was sent to Ellis Island to await deportation to France. While there, he saw a chance to ingratiate himself with the law by becoming an informer. He

only the finest cigars. He rented only Cadillacs, stayed only in hotel suites. His bait was costly and effective. Once, when trying to ferret out some stolen paintings, he set himself up at Chicago's Drake Hotel. Instead of getting down to business right away, he entertained the thief's intermediary over dinner, sent wine, caviar and *crêpes suzette* back to the kitchen for imagined flaws, then prepared the *crêpes* himself before the wide-eyed fence. Lafitte refused to rush the business discussion. "Not now," he told the middleman. "See me tomorrow." Convinced that Lafitte was genuine, the thieves delivered the paintings the next day—and stepped into an FBI trap.

As expected, Lafitte's undercover activities made him a prime target for underworld revenge. In 1956, as a matter of self-preservation, he dropped from sight. A year later, he reappeared in Kittery Point, Me., posing as Louis Romano. There he offered to help speculator Ralph L. Loomis out of his difficulties with the Securities and Exchange Commission for \$30,000. One deal led to another, and Loomis soon found himself investing more than \$300,000 in a pair of Lafitte-organized companies to develop mineral rights and diamond mines in Africa. When the mines produced glowing reports but no acres of diamonds, the Government moved in and indicted its errand undercover man on 15 counts of mail fraud and transportation of stolen property. Lafitte posted a \$25,000 bail, and on Dec. 3, 1963, vanished. He was reported in Africa, Europe and the Bahamas.

**Lucky Pierre.** Two years ago, he turned up in New Orleans, where he answered the Plimssol Club's advertisement for a manager-chef. He was a stunning success. Local gourmets praised his Dover sole, sighed over his *crêpes suzette*. Governor John McKeithen visited the club and made Lafitte an honorary Louisiana colonel. Mayor Victor Schiro dined there and gave him an official welcome from the city. Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson, too, was impressed by his cuisine. After Lafitte escorted her along a table loaded with his delicacies, she sent him a letter of praise from the White House.

In the end, Lafitte's skill with a saucepan may have been his undoing. Aware of his culinary finesse, the FBI distributed its "wanted" posters to restaurant operators across the country. A New Orleans restaurateur is reported to have recognized Lafitte from a poster and tipped the FBI because the elusive impostor was planning to open a competing French pastry shop.

Even so, Lafitte may turn out to be Lucky Pierre. Although the Government can still prosecute him for jumping bail, its fraud case against Lafitte depends on the testimony of the victim himself. Loomis will be unable to testify against Lafitte. He died a year ago and, as every schoolboy pirate knows, dead men tell no tales.

THE GETTMAN ARCHIVE



PIRATE LAFITTE



CON MAN LAFITTE

Working for the law and themselves.

won the confidence of some racketeers who were being held on the island and offered to carry a message to their fellow gangsters in New York. Instead, he carried it to the Government.

From then on, Lafitte, who changed identities as easily as he changed his stylish clothes, led a double life. Although police records show that he was arrested 23 times in 48 years for fraud, confidence schemes and burglary, they also show that he was a valuable undercover man for the Federal Government. He helped trap some of the late Vito Genovese's mafiosi for the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. He also posed as a buyer for the FBI, luring thieves into selling him stolen paintings and jewelry and then testifying against them in court.

**Expensive Tastes.** In public as well as private enterprise, Lafitte has always had flair. His expensive tastes appalled the Government auditors who approved his expense accounts as an informer. He drank only the best wines, smoked

\* The French-born brothers preyed on British, Spanish and French shipping in the Gulf of Mexico and sold their booty in the markets of New Orleans. Though the derring doers occasionally raided an American ship, by and large they were merely loyal to their adopted country. When the British approached Jean for help in the Battle of New Orleans in 1814, he led them on long enough to learn their plans, then brought his knowledge—and his gun—to the aid of Major General Andrew Jackson. Pardoned for his past plundering, he cheerfully returned to piracy.

# Okay, everybody, let's hear it for Luke Kramers

Luke Kramers—champion of the working girl? No. Luke Kramers—great lover on the silver screen? Well, no.

Luke Kramers has made his name by turning misery into sheer comfort. Luke is a scientist for American Enka Corp. near Asheville, North Carolina. A company shrewd enough to recognize that sagging panty hose were reaching epidemic proportions. So, being a leader in man-made fiber, the company wondered if there wasn't a nylon that would "stick to the subject," you might say.

Well, good old Luke and his fellow scientists came through with

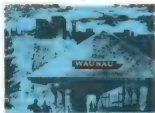
a leg-hugging nylon fiber called Enkasheer®. And the results can be seen beautifying the scene on mainstreets all over America.

From panty hose to carpeting, American Enka has worked its fibers into all forms of living.

But we feel sort of a kinship to Luke Kramers. Just as he found a fiber that would make a stocking shape itself perfectly to a leg, we shape business insurance to fit Enka's exact needs. When hose slip, it's downright uncomfortable. When your insurance slips, it can be a disaster. That's why we say insurance ought to work for a living. That's the Wausau Story.



## Employers Insurance of Wausau





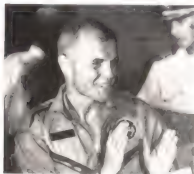
## FROM THE '60s TO THE '70s:



J.F.K. &amp; CALIFORNIA FRIENDS



HELICOPTER ASSAULT IN VIET NAM



JOHN GLENN BACK FROM ORBIT



JAMES MEREDITH AT OLE MISS

*Man tends to think of the future as if it were a distant country, across an ocean of time. From the viewpoint of the historian, each decade has a character and often even a language all its own, and the passage from one period into another is a reel, if invisible border crossing in human lives. Trying to determine that language and that character ahead of time is a hazardous venture. No one in 1959 foresaw the turmoil of the '60s, especially the rebellion of the young. Assassinations can rob a nation of its leaders, unexpected wars can desecrate the vitality of a race, the unaccountable gift of leadership can create hope where despair existed. Many of the major trends, visible and subterranean, that will shape man's life in the future are present today. On these two pages, TIME offers an analysis of the decade just past. Beginning on page 22, TIME attempts a glimpse at the '70s.*

## The Past Decade: A Romantic Era

"Ask not what your country can do for you," said John F. Kennedy in his inaugural speech as President. "Ask what you can do for your country." The words were uttered less than ten years ago, yet it could have been a century. The classically balanced cadences, the summons to duty and patriotism sound incredibly nostalgic to ears grown used to a decade of shouts of raw passion, cacophonous protest and violence. The bright promise that began the '60s turned to confusion and near despair as the decade ended. President Kennedy's version of U.S. manifest destiny seemed to be followed by what Psychiatrist Frederick Hacker calls "a rendezvous with manifest absurdity."

The absurdity was evident in the contrasting trends of the decade. It was an era of phenomenal prosperity, and of the discovery of poverty, hunger and social injustice at home. The most powerful military nation on earth found itself bogged down in an Asian war that seemed to defy defeat or victory. It was a war, moreover, begun with good, liberal and patriotic intentions and on a modest scale, but it led to onerous costs, both moral and material. Americans landed on the moon; back on earth, their cities festered and their atmosphere was befouled. The quiescent young people of the '50s were succeeded by more assertive youths, who symbolically displayed their rejection of society's established values at Woodstock. During the decade, more and more groups seemed to drop out of the national consensus, and a belligerent rhetoric of protest and revolution swept the country. Amidst the chaos, it was not easy to find a common theme. Yet the dominant events of the decade did fall into a historically recognizable pattern—a pattern of romanticism.

Rebelling against the liberal timetable, the angry black and the harassed white, the G.I. in Viet Nam and the protester at home would scarcely recognize the

decade as romantic. Yet the dominant life-styles of the decade were set by middle-class white youth—along with their adult admirers and imitators—who, like the 19th century romantics, rebelled against a society they felt had become overregulated, oversystematized, overindustrialized. Like their predecessors, they rallied against rationalism (for destroying all spontaneity, and they urged, instead, the uninhibited release of emotion. They revived the romantic faith in human nature and blamed the institutions of society for corrupting it.

Then and now, romanticism had a special feeling against Original Sin and for Original Innocence, seeing it exemplified in youth. William Wordsworth hailed a child of six: "Mighty Prose! Seer blest!" That sentiment was obliquely echoed last summer at the Amherst College commencement: the class valedictorian declared: "Our parents and our teachers believe in adulthood and maturity: our wish is to stay immature as little children." It was meant metaphorically; yet it expressed a profound disillusion with the values of the "older generation"—or perhaps the lack of them. Given little to believe in or rebel against by their liberal parents, the young filled the void with their own life-styles. The decade's compulsive clichés—"relevant" and "meaningful"—suggested a desperate search for identity.

*The intention to shock by obscenity, absurd dress and confrontation*

The American romantics of the '60s shared with their forerunners a vision of profound, if unspecified change that would regenerate mankind. In urging the abolition of the common law in England and the repudiation of the national debt, Percy Bysshe Shelley, according to Historian Crane Brinton, "saw nothing between himself and his dream." A poetic-minded radical of the '60s, Carl Oglesby, described the comparable utopian stance of today's revolutionaries: "Perhaps he has no choice and he is pure fatality; perhaps there is no fatality and he is pure will. His position may be invincible, absurd, both or nei-



# DISSENT AND DISCOVERY

ther. It doesn't matter. He is on the scene." The new romantics scorned gradual reform; for them, it was Freedom Now, Peace Now—Utopia Now.

Many adult Americans were shocked by the most obvious manifestations of the new romanticism—nudity, casual sex, obscenity, absurd dress, confrontation tactics. These were, of course, intended to shock. In describing some of his wilder contemporaries, François René de Chateaubriand might have been talking about Abbie Hoffman or Jerry Rubin when they confronted a House Un-American Activities subcommittee: "They rig themselves up as comic sketches, as grotesques, as caricatures. Some of them wear frightful mustaches; one would suppose that they are going forth to conquer the world." The heroes upon whom the romantics model themselves, and the causes they support, are also meant to shock. In the 19th century, romantics adulated Napoleon for defying all European tradition by his bold exploits. Many of today's young rebels glorify Che Guevara and Chairman Mao. The parallels are not exact, but in both situations it was enough that the heroes were hated by the Establishment.

## A mystical search for a shortcut to Utopia or euphoria

The romantic is preoccupied with himself as a unique being, which indeed he is. He makes an adventure of exploring his own senses and extends his discoveries with the use of sex and drugs. As in his politics, he is searching for a shortcut to euphoria, to a mystical oneness with—not God perhaps, but something quite approximate. Samuel Taylor Coleridge composed his ecstatic poem *Kubla Khan* under the influence of opium. The rock romantics of the Dylan generation prefer pot.

Dostoevsky prophesied what would happen when the socialist dream of universal prosperity was realized, as it was for many middle-class Americans in the '60s: "Men would suddenly realize that they have no life any more, no freedom of spirit, no freedom of will and personality, that somebody has stolen all that from them. People will become depressed and bored." Many protesters of the '60s revealed a deep-seated boredom, as was suggested by Abbie Hoffman's catch phrase, "revolution for the hell of it." Boredom, usually underrated as a force in history, is not a frivolous issue. It is the result not merely of prosperity but of spiritual emptiness. Nothing may be more boring perhaps than the absence of God, and much of the discontent among youth was basically religious, though they may not have recognized it as such. As Irving Howe, editor of *Dissent*, recently noted: "There is a built-in frustration in the activity of the radicals—and this may be one

of the reasons for their rage, namely, that what they really want is transcendence, or a mystical experience, which is not available through either reform or revolutionary politics."

The '60s saw an almost unprecedented rise in public violence in the U.S. Romantic revolution could not be blamed for all of it; there was the violence of blacks tormented by ghetto life, the violence of officialdom overreacting to protest. Still, although Martin Luther King and Medgar Evers were gunned down by calculating killers, it is plausible to argue that the Kennedy brothers were assassinated by romantics gone awry. Many strands of the romanticism were tied together in an ugly knot in the Sharon Tate murder: victims who exemplified an affluent hedonism; alleged murderers from a mystic hippie cult. The cult of violence can be kin to romanticism, as was shown by the 19th century-bred anarchists, action poets of revolution who assassinated several European heads of state as well as President William McKinley. In the '60s, at least some youth were romantically attracted to violence; it was a persistent theme of much rock music; it was a factor in the politics of S.D.S. extremists.

Where does romanticism lead? In one of its incarnations, the romantic fascination with myth, tribe and race led, ultimately, to the barbarities of Hitler. If the "traditional checks on human nature should be removed," wrote Critic Irving Babbitt in his classic *Romanticism and Romanticism*, "what emerges in the real world is not the mythical will to brotherhood but the ego and its fundamental will to power." Yet romanticism also reconfirms the value of the individual. In many ways, the movement expands personal freedom, and the strength of liberal democracy owes a considerable debt to 19th century romantics, who championed civil liberties and extension of the suffrage.

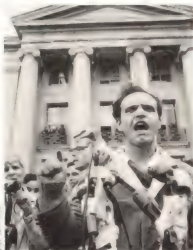
## The necessity of domestication

Ultimately, if romanticism is not to lose itself either in anarchy or in mere art, it must be politically tamed and domesticated. That may be a sad process, but it has proved necessary before.

If the romantic revolution continues, and it is hard to imagine that it will not, its adherents will have to confront what Raymond Aron calls the "constraints of fact—the need for organization, for a technical hierarchy, for a techno-bureaucracy." These are the "givens" of current civilization that cannot be dreamed, wished or shouted away. That civilization, in its turn, will have to understand and to an extent gratify the romantics' cry for meaning. How the American romantics meet their inevitable frustrations, how they channel their remarkable energy will be a crucial event of the 1970s.



TOPLESS MANNEQUIN



MARIO SAVIO AT BERKELEY



BEATLES AT PRESS CONFERENCE



FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

## FROM THE '60s TO THE '70s



COMMANDER BUCHER OF THE "PUEBLO"



L.B.J. & FRIENDS



MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.



RIOTERS

## The Next Decade: A Search for Goals

ON Jan. 4, 1970, the planet Neptune, which has been under the influence of Scorpio since the mid '50s, will move into the sphere of Sagittarius, the sign of idealism and spiritual values. The result, predict astrologers, should be a profound change in the way people think and act. Just possibly, the astrologers may be proved right. In the short run, the clash between new values and old probably will produce uncertainty, confusion, frustration and dismay. In the long run, this decade and the next may well constitute an historical era of transition, like that which followed the Middle Ages and preceded the Renaissance.

### *The way we will live*

The veneration of rationality was the special myth of modern man. The world view created by the enthronement of reason included a universal belief in individualism and competition; now that myth is dying. Faith in science and technology has given way to fear of their consequences: traditional institutions and even authority itself are distrusted and often detested. The cultural revolution of the '60s that emphasized Dionysian rather than Apollonian virtues will continue into the '70s.

The Hashbury scene has faded into history, but it is possible that the hippie may have pioneered—in spirit, at least—the way men will live and think in the next decade. Sociologists agree that more and more people probably will share the hippie's quest for new freedom, intimate social groups. The swinging-single apartment houses and the sedate, self-contained villages for the retired that flourished in the '60s may prove to be the models for other communal forms. There may be such things as occupational communes, in which groups of doctors and lawyers will live together with their families, and different age groups may emulate the old in banding together in Yankee-style collectives. Individualism may continue to wane as men seek personal identity in group identity. That, of course, involves a contradiction between "doing one's

own thing" and doing it with others. Still, Marshall McLuhan predicts confidently: "We are going through a tribal cycle once again, but this time we are wide awake."

Such tribal trends will obviously involve only a minority. A more general phenomenon will be the decline of materialistic motives, paradoxically accompanied by a growth in hedonism. Even so, asserts Princeton Sociology Professor Suzanne Keller, "We are at the end of an era when the measure of all things is a material measure. The young ones feel this deeply in their hearts." While industrial technology will provide a dazzling variety of innovative gadgets, from phonovision to computers for the home, possession will be less of an ideal. When goods are needed, says Buckminster Fuller, more and more will be rented rather than bought. "Ownership," says Fuller, "is obsolete. The telephone company doesn't know it, but in the end it is going to be the progenitor of our entire economy and life-style."

If current trends continue, the U.S. gradually will become a "late sensate society," in the phrase of the late Harvard sociologist, Pitirim Sorokin. By this he meant the glorification of pleasure over Puritan duty, of leisure over work. The '60s was a time of almost frantic experiment in sexual liberation; in the next decade, thanks in part to the Pill, sex will continue to be casual. But it may also be less frenetic. Divorce will be even more common, and the law may come to recognize term marriages, unions that will dissolve automatically after a certain length of time. Marijuana most likely will be either legalized or condoned.

### *Experiment will be the key word*

There is a fifty-fifty chance, says Futurist Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute, that working hours will be markedly shorter. Eventually, the American employee will have the option of deciding whether he wants his increased income in money or in greater leisure time. The goal of most Americans will be self-fulfillment rather than self-sacrifice. In everything, the emphasis will be on experimentation. "The idea of redesigning a way of life is going to be the dominant theme of the '70s," says Behaviorist B. F. Skinner. Young

people will continue to fear large institutions, he believes, and will be ever more willing to "let this culture alone" and start their own institutions and communities. Education for enrichment or amusement rather than for professional skills will become a lifetime process as universities expand to provide an almost infinite variety of postgraduate courses. In fact, says Marshall McLuhan, older people will have to go back to school to learn basic skills. The young, he says, are not interested in the mundane knowledge it takes to run a technological civilization; the old will have to learn it if they are to keep their world running.

All this will depend on continued expansion of the U.S. economy, which virtually all experts agree will take place. The growth should be impressive, and the experts expect:

- ▶ A gross national product of about \$1.4 trillion (in 1968 dollars), compared with about \$943 billion now. The growth rate should be in the range of 4.3% to 4.4% a year, compared with an average 4% for the postwar period.
  - ▶ A 40% rise in personal income.
  - ▶ A gradual rise in defense spending late in the decade, after a decline of about \$8 billion in the early years. Defense expenditures in 1979 will be somewhat less than they are today (\$81 billion), though they will take up much less, in percentage terms, of the national wealth.
  - ▶ Enormous gains for knowledge and information industries, recreation and entertainment companies, and home- and apartment-building corporations.
- Business will be operating in a new, probably tougher atmosphere. While profit will still be the prime mover, some of the money once considered the stockholders' will have to be sacrificed to the needs of society and to pollution control. Within business itself, the company that knows best how to use information and the new world of the computer will dominate its field—a truth only beginning to become apparent today. The knowledge industry, in fact, may grow to the point where it is the largest single segment of the economy. A new type of executive—one with great flexibility and broad powers of judgment—will replace the man who is a specialist in one field: the com-



IN WATTS



ROBERT F. KENNEDY



YIPPIES IN CHICAGO (1968)



McCARTHY KIDS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

puter will perform many of the tasks that the specialist performs today. At the same time, talented men will demand far greater say in decision making, forcing corporations, like governments, to decentralize their operations.

**Pornography may be ho-hum, and the Pope may wear a coat and tie**

The changed atmosphere will affect the arts as well, which may become ephemeral, instant, faddish and ultimately disposable. There will be a veritable explosion of mixed-media experiments—conceivably to greatest effect in opera. Nudity onstage and on the screen, perhaps even outright pornography, will be taken for granted; the new frontier of shock probably will be violence and cruelty.

In spite of this, the most significant trend of the '70s may well be a religious revival. This does not necessarily mean that there will be a massive return to existing institutional churches, although they will continue to modernize in form and structure (by the end of the decade, it is muttered in Rome, even the Pope may appear publicly in coat and tie rather than ecclesiastical garb). In reaction against the trend toward secularization, there may well be a sweeping revival of fundamentalism, particularly in its fervent, Pentecostal variety. The decade will also see the proliferation of small, home-centered worship groups with their own rituals, perhaps even their own theologies. Many people will reject traditional Western religions, finding inspiration and solace in the mystery cults of the East or in eclectic spiritual systems of their own devising. Religious impulses will find expression as well in interpersonal "T-groups," like those spawned by California's Esalen Institute, and in the occult. For many, astrology, numerology and phenology will become no longer fads but ways of life.

Even as generals are better at fighting the last war than the next one, so prophets are better at extrapolating from the past than anticipating surprises. Could all these trends that seem to lead from the '60s to the '70s be reversed? Certainly. After all, the heady air of freedom in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I was suddenly stifled

by the Puritan Revolution in England, and staid Victorian laws followed the carefree boisterous spirit of the Regency. It may be that the early '70s will see a period of repressive reaction against the Dionysian tendencies of the young. There may also be a purely spontaneous swing back to discretion and suggestion. "Writers and film makers," predicts Arthur Koestler, "will discover again that public hair is less poetic than Gretchen's braids." It is possible, too, that a decline in the work ethic or a weakening of demand for material goods may disrupt the foundation of a hedonist civilization—the economy.

Perhaps, eventually, people will grow tired of the "late sensate" society and once again want a hard-working, hard-value nation, an "ideational culture" (to use another of Sorokin's terms). Pop Critic Richard Goldstein pictures a future in which college students, rebelling against the rebels of the '60s, might be decidedly placid and prim. "What if students opt out of the scenarios we have devised?" he asks. "What if the goals of our rebellion seem suddenly uncool? After all, every movement carries its own antithesis." What, in short, if the '70s are not sensate but square? Possible—but not likely, for at least the greater part of the decade.

## Protest and Politics

With surprising unanimity, sociologists and political scientists agree that the spirit of dissent that animated and fractured the '60s is unlikely to be contained during most of the '70s. Quite the contrary: it is more likely to expand than contract. In the U.S., blacks will probably be joined by other ethnic groups—Chicanos, Indians, Chinese Americans—in seeking equality and identity. High schools, perhaps even more than colleges, will be torn by unrest. New minorities will make themselves heard: women, old people, even homosexuals. "Gay Power," "Senior Power" and "Woman Power" may not be jokes but battle cries that society will have to reckon with.

The major institutions of post-industrial society—corporations, unions and governments—will probably not escape the virus of what Herbert Marcuse calls

"the absolute refusal." Eventually, the nation may find civil service bureaucrats ignoring policy decisions they disagree with; reporters and editors may seek veto power over editorial decisions, as has happened in Europe; factory workers will reject the monotony of the assembly line. Employees at all levels will demand that corporate goals mesh with their personal goals, and socially irresponsible companies will not be able to attract talent. "People will have to be recognized as individuals," says French Futurist Bertrand de Jouvenel. "You have to acknowledge man as a human being. If you forget this, you lose everything."

**The young are the natives; the old are the immigrants**

The expectation that protest will continue into the '70s is supported by several facts. For one thing, today's student rebels are tomorrow's executives, workers and voters. Obviously, many of these rebels will turn conservative with age and the assumption of responsibility. But probably enough of them will carry enough of their youthful ideas into later years to change the political climate. Moreover, youth itself will continue to grow as a force. By the end of the decade, there will be 11 million more young Americans in the 25-to-34 age group, a rise of 44% over the '60s. (At the same time, there will be 3,000,000 more citizens over the age of 65, a 15% increase.) Never again, insists Anthropologist Margaret Mead, will adults feel entirely at home in a world that is increasingly being shaped by the values and opinions of youth. Today's generation gap, she says, is wider and deeper than any other recorded in history. "They are the natives. We are the immigrants."

In the long sweep of U.S. history, it is dissent—from the Whiskey Rebellion and the Civil War to the women's suffrage movement—and not conformity that has characterized most decades. The Depression, World War II and the cold war were all shattering crises that temporarily created a spirit of national consensus and obscured the tensions within the society. "Now," says Sociologist Daniel Bell, "the historic tendency of the culture is reasserting it-

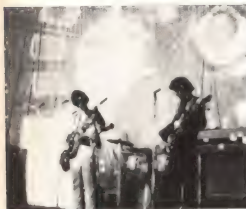
## FROM THE '60s TO THE '70s



MR. & MRS. ARISTOTLE ONASSIS



SCENE FROM "HAIR"



MIXED MEDIA ROCK SHOW

TRUMAN CAPOTE AND KAY GRAHAM



self." Adds Susan Sontag, the radical critic and novelist: "It is a kind of false nostalgia to look upon consensus as being normative." For much of the next decade, the U.S. is likely to be an increasingly fractious, and perhaps an increasingly violent and polarized society.

### Politics will be more confusing

In a series of reports this fall, the National Commission on Violence (see THE LAW) raised the possibility of a nation torn by assassinations and terrorism, of cities turned into hostile armed camps. On the one hand, unsatisfied minorities might raise their protests to ever higher levels of violence. On the other hand, the majority might feel increasingly justified in hitting back, through the police or through personal action. While there is a good chance that the black revolt will turn to peaceful outlets—so long as white society responds to its legitimate demands—it is certainly possible that militant blacks will turn to small-scale terrorism and urban warfare. In fact, the outcome of America's most pressing problem—the future of the blacks—is the biggest puzzle of all. The central problem, of course, will be how to improve the lot of the blacks quickly, without imposing sacrifices on the white lower and lower-middle classes that will not totally embitter them. One intriguing possibility is that the blacks and low-income whites will actually join together in a common political cause. Economic necessity might partially erase the color line. If that should happen, the black-white problem could be on the way to resolution in the '70s.

Most futurists believe that, in any event, the more dire prophecies of repression are false, that reaction and repression will be limited and temporary. Even so, the '70s are likely to be a time of chaotic and confused politics. The decade, thinks Management Consultant Peter Drucker, will see a slowdown in the growth of big government, which is unable, he maintains, to deal with modern problems. The solution is smaller, more effective bureaucratic units. At the same time there will be a revamping of outmoded political geography: the uniting of cities and their suburbs, for example, into rational metropolitan governments, as in Indianapolis and Toronto. Population trends will continue to shift west and southwest—and to the cities. As blacks move to the suburbs, many middle-class whites may return to the city. More and more, professional politicians will lose power to part-time activists as "participatory democracy" comes closer to reality. Candidates will bypass political organizations even more than they do today and reach directly to the people, with the help of TV and enthusiastic volunteers. Two-way cable TV may also make instant referendums possible (not to mention shopping from home).

Partly as a result, the one-term President may be the pattern of the future even as the one-term mayor is almost

that now. Political labels will become less important than they are even today, and it is likely that third and fourth parties—one of Wallaceite right-wingers, the other of left-of-center liberals—will be forces to reckon with in the elections of the '70s. The older parties may polarize along ideological, educational, or age lines. Simply because young people will constitute the largest single voting bloc in the nation, they may force a lowering of the voting age and a reduction in the required age of office holders. By the end of the decade, the average age of Senators and Governors may drop by five years.

Perhaps the most encouraging fact, in the long run, is that the American political system has always proved remarkably adaptive. What has seemed radical to one generation has been muffled over and adopted, at least in part, by its successor. Novel ideas are taken up by liberals, conservatives react in horror—and inch to the left. Today's Great Silent Majority is certainly more liberal than its predecessor of 20 years ago. The radicals disapprovingly call this process "co-optation." The ungainly word sums up the best political hope for the decade: that the broad middle of American society will adopt the legitimate ideas of the radicals (as it has come close to adopting the idea of a guaranteed annual wage) while discarding the excesses. Finally, it seems inconceivable that strife can go on indefinitely through the '70s without a profound longing for civil peace asserting itself. This should be a cue not for repression but for imaginative, inspirational leadership.

## Man and Environment

Politically as well as philosophically, the dominant question of the '70s will be the quality of human life. The prospect is that man in the next decade will not be crowded into marginal existence by famine. Yet his ability to control depredation of the earth's shrinking resources will remain uncertain, even as it is today.

One dire prediction of the early '60s was that the world, within a generation, would starve itself to death. Happily, that is not likely to come true. One of the unexpected and unheralded developments of the decade past was what agriculturists call "the green revolution"—the development of new, inexpensive high-yield wheat and rice grains. In the next ten years, the experts predict an extraordinary rise in farm productivity; even India, with its hundreds of millions, may become self-supporting in its food supply. Coupled with the gains from the land, man will have the technical ability to farm the sea instead of simply harvesting it; scientists believe that they will soon be able to breed and control fish and shellfish in large quantities and to cultivate underwater plants.

Certain staples of civilized life in the



Western world—butter, for instance—may be in short supply simply because they will become too expensive to produce in volume. Otherwise, though, the '70s will be a decade with a food surplus, perhaps even a grain glut, that could lead to agricultural depression. Whether hunger is eliminated, however, depends upon the mechanics of distribution—a problem for politicians and economists, not for agricultural technicians.

**Paradox: There may be too much food and too many people**

Still, "the population explosion" is and will remain more than a cant phrase. The U.S. now has 204 million people (a 14% growth during the past decade). By 1980, the Census Bureau estimates, it will have at least 225 million (and perhaps as many as 250 million). If present trends continue, the world population will grow from an estimated 3.6 billion today to at least 4.3 billion ten years from now. Compulsory birth control will not be a political issue for America in the '70s, but it may well be in other lands. The governments of India and perhaps China and Pakistan, for example, will be under continual pressure to try to change traditional social attitudes that favor large families and stigmatize the single. It is unlikely that man's Biblical lifespan of threescore years and ten, the average in the Western world, will be extended by more than a month or so during the next decade. Nonetheless, expectable developments in geriatrics, in improved hospital care, in partial conquest of such killers as cancer and heart disease, will make life better for the old and will undoubtedly add to population pressures.

Government and business will be forced to spend ever increasing sums—possibly \$10 billion to \$20 billion a year, in Herman Kahn's estimate—to control pollution of air and water and to prevent the destruction of natural beauty. Already, the young seem to be turning their protest to problems of the environment, organizing demonstrations against irresponsible corporations and municipalities. In the next few years, increasing attention will be paid to shoddy development and the infamous urban sprawl; it will be widely recognized that like most forms of pollution, defiling of the landscape, whether it be with shopping centers or expressways, is hard to reverse. In the interests of preserving their open spaces—not to mention domestic tranquility—some nations may bar or limit tourism. International relations will certainly be affected by the cause of conservation, since neither air nor water pollution observes frontiers. Nations will discover that sovereignty can be threatened by pollutants just as much as by invasion. The wars of the future may be not over ground, but dirt.

Much more is involved than putting filters on chimneys and car exhausts and building new sewage plants. As the

decade advances, it will become clear that if the ecological effort is to succeed, much of today's existing technology will have to be scrapped and something new developed in its place. The gasoline-powered automobile, at present the chief polluter of the air, will be made clean or it will be banned from many urban areas—a threat that some carmakers already recognize (see ENVIRONMENT). Alternatives are electric or gas-turbine-powered autos. Increasingly, it will be seen that any kind of mass transportation, however powered, is more efficient than the family car. The Rand Corp.'s Stanley Greenfield, however, cynically argues that the revolt against the car may not take place until a thermal inversion, combined with a traffic jam out of Godard's *Weekend*, asphyxiates thousands on a freeway to nowhere. In addition, factories will have to be built as "closed systems," operated so that there is no waste; everything, in effect, that goes in one end must come out the other as a usable, non-polluting product. Man's own body wastes will have to find use as fertilizer—the cheapest and most efficient means of disposal. Planning will have to be a much greater concern.

Popular though the cause is, it is by no means clear that the struggle to save the environment will be won. The attitude, central to the modern mind, that all technology is good technology will have to be changed radically. "Our society is trained to accept all new technology as progress, or to look upon it as an aspect of fate," says George Wald, Harvard's Nobel-laureate biologist. "Should one do everything one can? The usual answer is 'Of course'; but the right answer is 'Of course not.'"

Some despair, and predict man will go on saying "Of course" forever—or as long as he can breathe his dirty air. French Anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss believes that pollution will grow worse, and that man will proceed with the wanton destruction of other living beings. Bertrand de Jouvenel adds: "Western man has not lived with his natural environment. He has merely conquered it." Others suggest that the struggle will be won once the public realizes the danger inherent in man's Faustian lust to overwhelm and use the world.

## The World Arena

In addition to the changes in lifestyles and domestic politics, the '70s will see dramatically different patterns governing international affairs. Since World War II, the great questions of world politics have depended largely on solutions proposed in Washington or Moscow. This polarization of power is coming to an end. In 1979, the U.S. and the Soviet Union will still be the most important nations in the world. But they will no longer remain, as they have for most of the postwar era, vir-



STUDENTS IN MINISKIRTS



MANHATTAN'S POLLUTED AIR



WOODSTOCK NATION

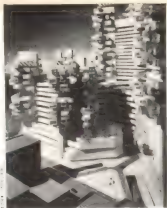
NIXONS & EISENHAWERS



## FROM THE '60s TO THE '70s



FOOD PLANT ON THE MOON



URBAN COMPLEX OF THE FUTURE



PROJECTED MOON COLONY

tually alone on the pinnacle of power.

The possibility of war between America and the Soviet Union obviously will persist, but armed conflict is a very distant possibility in the '70s. Since the Cuban missile crisis, both nations have slowly arrived at the tacit but wary understanding that dropping the bomb would mean global disaster, and the balance of nuclear terror has proved to be exactly that—a durable and war-detering balance. A reactionary, repressive Government in the U.S., with a rigidly anti-Communist foreign policy, could upset the scales; so could the rise to power in Moscow of an adventurous, Stalin-like dictator. Total disarmament is and will remain an illusion, but some kind of bilateral agreement to limit arms expenditures is highly probable. Though many nations even now have the capacity to produce atomic weapons, it is probable that few, if any, will find the effort worthwhile. As the French and the British have discovered, possession of the bomb does not automatically bring power.

### *Japan will dominate Asia, and the U.S. and China may become friends*

One arena where the U.S. and Russia will have less influence is Asia. Thanks to a phenomenal growth rate, Japan has already become the world's third-ranking economic power; by 1980, its gross national product will have exceeded that of all the other nations in Asia combined. Japan will certainly continue to resist the impulse to become a military power once again. But its industrial and economic strength will give Japan growing influence over its Asian neighbors, and economic aid plus a regional military role will probably become inevitable toward the end of the decade.

Unless all actuarial laws are repealed by the Cultural Revolution, China's Mao Tse-tung, who is now 75, will most likely die within the decade and be replaced, probably by a committee of leaders. Barring large-scale anarchy—a not impossible prospect—China will be ruled by a less ideological and more bureaucratic generation of Communist bosses. Economic necessity, if nothing else, should make China's foreign policy more flexible, and the U.S., with its

former ties of friendship to that country, may come to see China as a useful counter against the Russians. The result might well be an exchange of ambassadors between Washington and Peking before 1980.

War between Russia and China cannot be ruled out, and a pre-emptive Soviet air strike against the Chinese is and will remain a possibility. Fantastic though it may be, some observers predict the breakup of the Soviet Union as a result of a Russo-Chinese war (see *THE WORLD*). In attempting to maintain their hold over Eastern Europe, the Soviets might eventually repeat the Czechoslovak pattern and invade other countries in the area, notably Rumania. Still, Communism is dead as a unifying ideology. In the '70s, the splintering trend will intensify; there may be four or five—or more—Communist movements, with headquarters in Moscow, Peking, Havana, Belgrade and possibly Bucharest.

By the mid-'70s, political power in Europe will be in the hands of a generation that remembers World War II and even the cold war as passages of history rather than living events. Thus many accepted postwar ideals, like the goal of "Atlantic Community," will become sharply scrutinized clichés—some of them, indeed, already are. In politics, West Germany during the '70s will gain the same kind of pre-eminence in Europe that Japan will have in Asia, and for much the same reason: economic prowess. It is not inconceivable that Bonn would opt for a neutral status between East and West if the Soviet Union offered reunification of the two Germans. Some 30 years after they landed, most American troops will probably have been withdrawn from Europe. Almost as an afterthought, Great Britain will finally be admitted to the Common Market.

### *The Third World faces tribalism*

"Brazil is the country of the future," say Rio wits, "and always will be." Sadly enough, the prospect for Brazil and most other underdeveloped nations of the Third World during the '70s could scarcely be gloomier. The prognosis is for a decade of anarchy and political instability, of coups and counter-coups, and of widespread suffering. Historian Arnold Toynbee predicts that "the

present worldwide discontent and unrest will become more acute, and will express itself in worse and worse outbreaks of violence. In fact, I expect to see local civil wars take the place of a third international war."

In a sense quite different from McLuhan's, tribalism will be a more pervasive danger to the political stability than nationalism. In the wake of economic disasters, India might break apart, splintered by its divergent peoples. Indeed, so powerful is the attraction of regional autonomy that even the advanced countries may be shaken. Britain may have to grant quasi-independence to the Welsh and the Scots, and Canada could still founder on antagonisms between its French- and English-speaking halves.

### *The Arab-Israeli conflict may turn into a new Hundred Years' War*

Political pessimists conclude that the Arab-Israeli conflict will eventually result in the destruction of one side or the other. Ironically, optimists predict that it will carry on as mankind's modern equivalent of the Hundred Years' War. In a way, this prognosis may prove to be an accurate description of world politics in the '70s—a time that is not quite what the world regards as peace, and not quite armed conflict.

The most widely heard prediction about the 1970s is that the U.S. will turn isolationist after the Viet Nam experience and shy away from all but the most crucial foreign involvements directly affecting its own security. Chances are that this isolationism will not turn out to be as severe as it is sometimes feared and will not really result in a widespread abdication of American responsibilities around the world. What it should mean is a much subtler, more sophisticated and selective form of exerting American influence. One of the dominant clichés of the late '60s—about America not being the policeman of the world—will have proved highly useful if U.S. goals abroad become more realistic. Moreover, an American inward-turning to urgent domestic problems could be entirely healthy for U.S. foreign policy. Only by drastically improving its own society will the U.S. be able to maintain its position and power in the world.



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# THE WORLD

## EUROPE: SUPERSEDING THE PAST

THERE was enough motion on the political chessboard of Europe last week to confound even the most nimble-witted Grand Master. Wherever one turned, there seemed to be delegations hurrying to and fro, trailing position papers, press releases and calculated leaks—Germans and Arabs, Russians and Americans, Israelis and even Chinese.

Much of the activity centered in Moscow and Bonn. It was a case of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev's *Realpolitik* advancing on the board at the same time. The result was a flurry of negotiations, the likes of which the Continent has not seen in years, if not decades. It would be utopian to assume that all the movement of the two powers will soon produce a significant relaxation of international tensions. But the fact remains that there is movement, and that small accomplishments may eventually lead to larger ones.

**Reasonable Ground.** It was Brandt, scarcely 50 days in office as Chancellor, and the leaders of the Warsaw Pact nations who held the spotlight. "We are interested in agreements that supersede the past," Brandt said last week. With Western approval of his policy written into the communiqué of the annual NATO meeting in Brussels two weeks ago, Brandt is determined to achieve understandings with the East on just about any reasonable ground. Last week alone there were these results:

► In Moscow, German Ambassador Helmut Allardt met with Foreign Minister

Andrei Gromyko for 90 minutes one day and two hours another to discuss negotiations on the mutual renunciation of force. Such a proposal has been pending for three years; it was resuscitated by the Russians early this year. The two governments believe that actual negotiations can begin early next year.

► In Düsseldorf, the Germans announced agreement on a \$410 million transaction with the Soviet in which the Germans will sell 1,500 miles of pipeline and buy a 20-year supply of Russian-produced methane gas. The pipeline into West Germany will run through Czechoslovakia and into Bavaria—bypassing East Germany and giving Walter Ulbricht cause to wonder whether Bonn's activist diplomacy is turning him into Europe's odd man out.

► In Warsaw, the official newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* reflected Party Chief Władysław Gomułka's newly amiable attitude toward Bonn by suggesting that German-Polish talks on the renunciation of force were "imminent." This week the two nations open new discussions on trade.

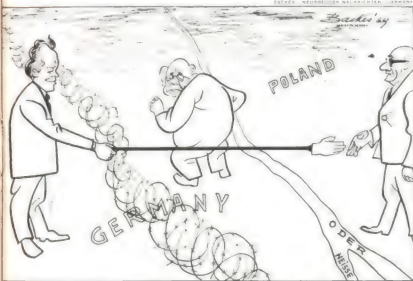
► In Prague, following a Brandt suggestion that diplomatic talks might be helpful, Party Leader Gustav Husák responded swiftly, albeit cautiously. "We are waiting for an initiative," said Husák, who proposed as a starter the repudiation "from the beginning" of the 1938 Munich Pact that ceded the Sudetenland to Germany. Bonn already considers the pact void. In any case, the territory was returned to Czechoslovakia after World War II.

The seven East Bloc nations agreed to undertake such bilateral discussions with the West during a Moscow summit two weeks ago. Ulbricht, who fears West German competition in trade as well as politics, was standoffish. He had hoped to gain recognition of his government from Bonn in return for East Bloc talks, but his partners are no longer willing to insist on this. The Poles, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and to a lesser extent the Rumanians, were careful to harmonize their overtures with those of Moscow. After all, one of the reasons former Czechoslovak Party Chief Alexander Dubček got into trouble last year was that he hinted at closer relations with Bonn. Dubček's mistake was doing it on his own.

Russia's leaders found themselves every bit as busy as Brandt last week. Moscow's negotiations, however, ranged over a far wider sphere. Items:

► In Helsinki, Soviet and U.S. delegates to the preliminary Strategic Arms Limitation Talks continued discussions. The two sides have progressed far enough that they will probably wind up talks this week and begin formal discussions next year.

► In Moscow, Premier Aleksei Kosygin welcomed a delegation sent by Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Egyptians were seeking more weapons—which Moscow is reluctant to give them—and a forthright Russian rebuff of the U.S. peace terms for the Middle East that Secretary of State William Rogers made public last week. They included Israeli withdrawal from Sinai and some form



WEST GERMAN VIEW OF EAST GERMAN ISOLATION

A flurry of *Ostpolitik* and *Realpolitik*.



BREZHNEV & ULBRICHT IN MOSCOW

of multinational government for Jerusalem in exchange for Arab peace guarantees by the Israelis. Though the plan seems to offer the Egyptians favorable terms, Cairo rejected it, accusing Washington of trying to divide the Arabs. Moscow, however, is not yet ready to turn down the proposals merely because the Arabs are suspicious.

► In Peking, the Sino-Soviet border talks were at a stalemate (see story on page 35), confronting the Russians with a delicate problem. They wanted First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov to come home to prepare for the SALT negotiations, but they feared that the Chinese would take his recall to mean that the border talks were doomed. The Kremlin solved this by ordering Kuznetsov home for a meeting of the Supreme Soviet. Meanwhile Peking, for its part, got into the diplomatic game last week by authorizing its charge d'affaires in Warsaw to meet secretly with the U.S. ambassador—possibly to revive the Sino-American talks after a two-year hiatus.

**Undertone of Alarm.** In most of its negotiations, Moscow is placing heavy emphasis on trade and harter. The reason is plain: the whole East Bloc is suffering from a severe shortage of consumer goods as well as hard currency to buy them. West Germany, on the other hand, has become Europe's strongest nation economically. What is not so clear is why the Soviet Union and its satellites are pressing so urgently for negotiations on other issues—most notably an overall European security treaty and other agreements that renounce the use of force. One reason may be that Moscow still fears even a divided Germany, and would like to neutralize it. Another may be the Soviet conviction that even minor accommodations will weaken the ties between Bonn and its NATO allies.

The U.S. and Britain professed no such misgivings last week, though both were skeptical of what would eventually emerge from Bonn's negotiations with the East. The French, however, were openly unhappy. Some diplomats and journalists saw a parallel to Rapallo, the Italian Riviera resort where the Germans and Russians concluded a friendship treaty in 1922. It was the Rapallo pact that opened the way for the German army to train secretly on Russian territory, an operation that continued into the '30s. Rapallo prompted Georges Clemenceau to warn, "The Germans are becoming independent again."

Brandt's anti-Nazi past and his Social Democratic politics acquit him of responsibility for the Germany of that other era. But his goal, too, is an independent Germany—or as he said in October, "a liberated, not a conquered Germany." But he acknowledges that the talk so far has concerned "atmospherics" or small points. Key points, like the recognition of East Germany or the normalization of divided Berlin, may well be years away.

## GREECE

### The Neighbors' Verdict

Moments before the delegates were scheduled to recess for a luncheon of poached bass at the Italian embassy, Foreign Minister Panayotis Pipinelis of Greece interrupted the proceedings. Waving his hand in the air, he told Italy's Aldo Moro, chairman of the Council of Europe meeting in Paris: "I have something further to say." With that, the small, sharp-featured Pipinelis, 70, announced that Greece would resign immediately from one of Europe's most prestigious political forums. He did not have to explain why. Everyone in the room knew that the first order of business after lunch would almost certainly be to suspend Greece from the Council



FOREIGN MINISTER PIPINELIS

*Before the hars d'oeuvres, a surprise.*

for denying basic democratic rights to its citizens without justification.

Greece's departure from the body was another blot on the record of the military junta that seized power 32 months ago. It undoubtedly reflected the revulsion among Greece's neighbors against widespread reports that political prisoners have been tortured by police with official approval. Council members had recently received the report of a special panel of the Human Rights Commission documenting at least eleven cases of torture (TIME, Dec. 12).

**Solid Majority.** Before walking out of the meeting on orders from Athens, Pipinelis delivered a passionate defense of the junta. "Some police irregularities" had occurred, he admitted, but "in which country have they not?" The colonels, he said, "are a transitory regime and have said so publicly."

Council members, however, were in no mood to accept such a defense. The regime "has kept public opinion waiting for more than two years," said West Ger-

many's Foreign Minister Walter Scheel. "This continued violation of our statutes cannot be denied." At least eleven of the Council's 18 members were ready to approve a resolution that would have suspended Greece temporarily but allowed it to maintain a liaison staff at Council headquarters in Strasbourg until constitutional rule is restored.

The junta has threatened some members, notably Britain, West Germany and Italy, with trade reductions. Pipinelis recently staged a well-publicized meeting with the Soviet ambassador to Athens, going out of his way to bill it as "more than just routine." Some officials also warned that Greece might review its "excessive contribution to Europe's defense." There is little real chance, however, that Greece will leave NATO—if only because the U.S., which lobbied against the Council's disciplinary measures, is expected to swallow its dislike of the regime shortly and resume full military aid to Athens, which has been partially suspended since the colonels took over in 1967.

## ITALY

### The Moon Bug

Through Italy's *autunno caldo* (hot autumn), some 5,000,000 workers walked off their jobs—traffic cops, bus drivers, postmen, teachers, garbage collectors, steel and auto workers, even casino croupiers. Newspapers took to printing daily "strike calendars," and by telephoning 85 85 45, beleaguered Italians could hear a recorded message informing them which walkouts were on for that day. Last week, however, one group of workers took the unusual step of calling off a scheduled 72-hour strike. They were employees of the Italian Red Cross, and they were desperately needed to help out in the country's latest disaster—a flu epidemic.

Some Italians, dubbed the new bug "the moon flu," because it began to spread about the time the Apollo 12 astronauts returned to earth. Others called it "space flu," because it moved south at 20 miles per hour. Italy's Ministry of Health labeled it "a variation of A2 Hong Kong flu, a nephew of the Asiatic type," which reached epidemic proportions in Europe and the U.S. in 1967-68. By whatever name, as of last week the flu had struck 15 million Italians (out of 54 million). Said one U.S. diplomat: "I haven't seen anything like this since America's first flu epidemic of 1918."

In Rome, 1,500,000 persons—half of the capital's population—had been stricken, including Premier Mariano Rumor. In Milan, the disease affected one person in three, including 1,000 streetcar drivers and 330 policemen. City halls and law courts closed down, and pharmacies rationed medicines. In Turin, a third of the municipal employees were absent, and so was the city's entire *squadra mobile*, the elite police squad normally called out in emergencies.

Two-thirds of the 1,000 residents of the tiny Tyrrhenian island of Ventotene were ill, including the only doctor.

Despite its infectiousness, the moon flu lasts only two or three days and is remarkably benign; only five deaths have been reported in Italy so far, and all from complications that developed as a result of the flu. Health authorities claim to have used older vaccines against it with some success, but Rome's daily *Il Messaggero* asked: "Who believes you? Anyone can see the epidemic is still gaining force." It is expected to reach its peak next week.

## SOVIET UNION

### Dissent = Insanity

Former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko spent 34 of his 63 years in the Soviet Army. In 1961, however, he had the temerity to criticize the "Khrushchev cult" at a party meeting. That outburst eventually cost him his army career, and sent him off to an asylum for 14 months as a "schizophrenic." In time, the old soldier became one of the most vigorous and spirited dissenters against the current regime. Seven months ago when he arrived in Tashkent to act as counsel for

ten Crimean Tartars who were on trial for civil rights activities, Grigorenko was arrested for "anti-Soviet agitation." Last week, a medical board in Tashkent decreed that he was "paranoid with symptoms of atherosclerosis" and dispatched him to another asylum—a favorite Soviet prescription for discrediting dissenters. Also reported to be held in a Soviet state institution last week: Ivan Yakimovich, onetime chairman of a Latvian collective farm, who betrayed his mental aberration in 1968 by supporting Alexander Dubček's liberal Communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

## An Apocalyptic View of Russia's Future

IN George Orwell's chillingly prescient novel *1984*, the totalitarian state is seen as a form of organization that is assured of complete, self-perpetuating supremacy. According to Andrei Amalric, a young (31) and as yet little-known Russian writer, Orwell was way off. In a controversial essay that only recently reached the West, Amalric observes that the once monolithic Soviet state is already "distending itself and disintegrating like sour dough." Between 1980 and 1985, he predicts, it will explode in "anarchy, violence and intense national hatred."

In the Soviet intellectual world, Amalric is considered a combative gadfly. He has done time in Siberia, charged with writing "patently anti-Soviet" literature. He has not hesitated to criticize other Russian writers, notably Defector Anatoly Kuznetsov (*TIME*, Dec. 5). His forte is a particularly acute and abrasive sort of political commentary, and it places him somewhat apart from the mainstream of Soviet dissent, which has always been long on anguish but short on social analysis. Amalric's piece appears this week in *Survey*, a London quarterly on Soviet affairs, and is to be published in the U.S. next March by Harper & Row. It is entitled "Will the U.S.S.R. Survive Until 1984?" Amalric's answer is no. In his view, a disastrous end, resulting from internal upheaval and war with China, is not very far off.

Amalric's thesis is so obviously heretical that the question legitimately arises: Why isn't he in prison? A few observers suggest that he is unwittingly being used by the KGB, but it is difficult to imagine why the secret police would want such critical articles to appear in the West. Most probably, he has been left free—so far—because to jail him would give undue publicity to his work.

Amalric dismisses as "naïve" the popular U.S. notion that the Soviet regime is mellowing with age. He scoffs at the theory that "the spread of Western cultural ideas and ways of life would



AMALRIC & WIFE GISELLE IN MOSCOW

gradually transform Soviet society, that foreign tourists, jazz records, and mini-skirts would help to create 'human socialism'—a reference to Alexander Dubček's attempts to humanize Czechoslovakia's regime. "We may get socialism with bare knees," he concludes, "but certainly not with a human face."

As the old regime ages and stagnates, Amalric says, Soviet society is growing more unstable. Sullen class rivalry has already developed, particularly between the bureaucratic elite and a middle class of intellectuals, managers and professionals. Both, in turn, are discredited by the great surly majority—the mass of peasants and former peasants. At present, says Amalric, the people and the state face each other like "one man with his hands raised above his head while another points a Tommy gun at his stomach." Inevitably, he says, the state "will get tired and lower the Tommy gun." The result will not really be "liberalization" but anarchy.

Amalric outlines a chilling, decade-long scenario of dissolution. Disorder

is already evident in "an unusual spread of casual robbery." Having discarded the old Christian morality, the Kremlin is desperately trying to substitute nationalism, with its "inherent cult of force and expansionist ambitions." Already, there have been clashes with China along the Ussuri River in the East.

Amalric predicts that China will launch a war with Russia "somewhere between 1975 and 1980"—as soon as Peking has amassed a credible nuclear stockpile. The Soviets, Amalric's script continues, will look to Washington for help. But the U.S., Amalric says, will already have established some sort of *modus vivendi* with Peking. The war will be long and demoralizing. Moscow will have to withdraw troops from Europe, leading to the "desovietization" of the East Bloc.

Isolated abroad and at home, the Kremlin will have to send troops to put down riots in Russian cities, thus "hastening the collapse of the army." Eventually, one final jolt—a battlefield defeat, a disturbance in Moscow—will topple the regime.

What then? Remnants of the middle class, if powerful enough, might be able to stitch together a loose federation, something like the British Commonwealth, out of some of the Soviet republics. But in Central Asia, Amalric writes, there would probably remain a lone state that would regard itself as "the U.S.S.R.'s successor." It would integrate "traditional Communist ideology with the features of Oriental despotism."

Fanciful though Amalric's thesis may seem, there are serious students who accept all or part of it. Most observers, however, would be stunned if the U.S.S.R. were to collapse in the foreseeable future—much less within 15 years, and in the manner foreseen by Amalric. While he need not be taken literally as a political prophet, he does illuminate some of the problems that plague the country. The value of his work is to point out that Russia could undergo some dramatic changes as it seeks to cope with those problems.



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### "An Unfortunate Accident"

One winter night in 1948, two weeks after the Communists had seized power in Czechoslovakia, Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk fell to his death from his third-floor apartment in the Cernin Palace. Despite an official report that he had committed suicide, many Czechoslovaks believed he had been murdered by Soviet secret police. During Alexander Dubček's short-lived regime in 1968, a new inquest was ordered into Masaryk's death. Then came the Soviet invasion. Last week the new report was finally released, and it proved to be a tortured compromise between the Soviet position (suicide) and the popular view (murder).

The report said Masaryk had a habit of sitting in cold places to cure his insomnia. He also had a way, it said, of sitting cross-legged in yoga fashion. The "remarkable connection" of these two habits, it concluded, probably led to his death in "an unfortunate accident."

The findings were dismissed as ludicrous by U.S. Journalist Claire Sterling, who recently completed a book on the Masaryk affair. "There is overwhelming evidence to rule out accidental death," she said. She cited signs of a struggle in the room, and smears of excrement on the window sill and Masaryk's body, suggesting that he might have been dead or gravely injured before his fall. Nonetheless, the attorney general's office ruled that "the possibility of murder can be excluded." It also ruled out suicide, quoting psychiatrists as saying that two weeks under Communism was probably not enough to have driven Masaryk to take his life.

## PORTUGAL

### State Secret

Austere old Dictator António de Oliveira Salazar is still unaware that he was replaced 15 months ago while in a deep coma following a stroke—and he may never find out. No one in Portugal has so far been able to summon up the nerve to tell the old man that his 36-year reign is over. The task of preventing Salazar from finding out has fallen chiefly to his housekeeper, Dona Maria de Jesus Caetano Freire, and his physician. They deny him newspapers and television, explaining that such diversions would "tire" him. They schedule meetings with his former Cabinet ministers, who politely ignore his directives. They even admit some journalists if they promise not to reveal that Marcello Caetano is now Premier. On several occasions, Rear Admiral Américo de Deus Rodrigues Thomaz, Portugal's figurehead President since 1958, has tried to break the news gently to Salazar, who at 80 is lucid but semiparalyzed. Each time, Dona Maria recently told a friend, Thomaz approached the old Premier's Lisbon quarters "with the firm intention of telling the truth. But he can't find the words."



FLOODED TUNISIAN BUILDINGS NEAR SIDI BOU ALI  
Concrete slabs in the bowling alley.

## TUNISIA

### The Big Flood

"We were three days short of a Biblical record," said Foreign Minister Habib Bourguiba Jr. He was not smiling. For 38 days in September and October, rain fell steadily on Tunisia, leaving 600 people dead, destroying 70,000 homes, and making refugees of 300,000 of the nation's 4,500,000 people. Touring the country last week, TIME Correspondent William Rademakers reported that the floods have set economic growth back five years.

Meteorologists blame the flood on a shift in the Azores high-pressure area from 35° north latitude, where it normally centers, to 45° north. The shift eliminated summer rains from most of Europe and brought unusually warm and sunny weather. Meanwhile, cool air suddenly began to flow from the Soviet Union toward the Mediterranean. A low-pressure system over Northern Africa created a howling-alley effect, directing the moisture-laden air mass straight at Tunisia. On the Tunisian-Algerian border, the Atlas Mountains blocked the air and caused the rain to fall. The mountains also set up a swirling air flow in which clouds gathered up new water.

**The Map Revised.** Rivers crested 36 feet above normal. Whole villages vanished. Thirty-five major bridges were washed away, and the map of Tunisia was drastically revised. At least 1,000,000 livestock drowned and 10,000 olive trees were uprooted. The Zeroud and Merguellil rivers, swirling together, created a torrent eight miles wide. The force was so great that 100-ton concrete slabs, used to anchor bridges, were hurled downstream. An irrigation project that took two years and \$7,000,000 to construct was washed away in six hours. As late as last week the Mediterranean

was still an oozing ochre sore from the Gulf of Tunis to the Gulf of Bou Grara because of topsoil washed into the sea by the boiling rivers.

Here and there the floods left a boon. On the Kairouan plain, 80 miles south of Tunis, a three-foot layer of soil was washed away, uncovering a sizable Roman village. Inland lakes eight miles wide were created by rainfalls of 16 inches in 24 hours. The lakes are now draining down to raise the water table, and farmers are assured of at least four years of well-watered soil. Most important, the rains that battered 80% of Tunisia bypassed coastal resort areas whose hotels account for \$40 million in tourist revenues annually. Even so, cancellations already total \$1,000,000.

**Help from Abroad.** Foreign Minister Bourguiba, son of the founder and President of Tunisia, has spent most of his time since the flood pleading for foreign assistance. Morocco, France and the U.S. sent helicopters that brought food and medical personnel to isolated areas and flew stranded families out. The U.S. also allotted nearly \$1,000,000 and West Germany \$2,500,000 in loans and grants. French, Belgian, Dutch and Spanish engineers are already at work rebuilding rail lines and restoring the water system. Russia dispatched 520,000 worth of blankets, food and medicine and a message of sympathy. In all, 24 nations are providing assistance.

Though neighboring Libya and Algeria are helping out, along with Morocco, Tunisia may have difficulty getting aid from other Arab countries. President Bourguiba has consistently sided with the West. He is opposed to war with Israel and is reluctantly coming around to the idea of coexistence with the Jerusalem government. As a result, most of the Arab states have done nothing to help with Tunisia's recovery.



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## DAHOMEY

### A Job with Little Future

Aside from the fact that it was the place where Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton filmed Graham Greene's novel, *The Comedians*, Dahomey's chief claim to notoriety is its penchant for coups d'état. Since 1963, the tiny West African state (pop. 2,500,000 in an area of 44,290 sq. mi.) has experienced four coups, all bloodless. Last week Dahomey suffered its fifth coup in six years, but this time the takeover was not bloodless. When President Emile Zinsou, 51, an able, French-trained medical doctor, arrived at his seaside palace in his black Citroën limousine, soldiers opened fire with automatic weapons, wounding him and killing his two bodyguards. Then they bundled Zinsou into a waiting car and disappeared. Eight hours later, Lieut. Colonel Maurice Kouandété, chief of staff of the 1,500-man army, announced that Zinsou had been removed because he "had not fulfilled his mission of national reconciliation."

Kouandété, 30, is becoming quite a President-maker—and unmaker. He masterminded the 1967 coup against General Christophe Soglo, who had himself overthrown three previous Presidents. Kouandété replaced Soglo with Zinsou, who struggled to overcome Dahomey's budget deficit of \$3,000,000 by cutting government salaries and freezing wages. He succeeded only in setting off a series of strikes. His undoing came when word leaked out that he planned to cut the army's size and replace Kouandété. Despite the drawbacks of the job, the candidates are already lining up. As soon as Kouandété announced that political exiles were welcome to return home, three exiled ex-Presidents called to offer their services.

## CHINA

### Bayonets and Bomb Shelters

After eight weeks, the Soviet-Chinese border talks in Peking appear to have made no progress. The reason for the deadlock may well be that the Soviets refuse to withdraw their troops from disputed areas of the 4,500-mile border until the Chinese quit insisting on a complete Soviet renunciation of the czarist treaties that ceded vast areas of China to Russia.

With the talks going nowhere, China is preparing for the worst. The latest evidence of Peking's efforts to condition its huge populace to the possibility of war comes from two U.S. citizens who were seized by Chinese fishing junks last February while yachting between Hong Kong and Macao. Released last week, they told of seeing widespread roadblocks and military activity whenever they were shifted from place to place. From his shuttered room in a rural commune, Simeon Baldwin, Hong Kong-based manager of an aircraft-parts firm, said that he could hear the local army units at bayonet practice. "There is constant talk of defense and you see preparations for war everywhere. My interpreters really believed that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are conspiring to invade China." Once he asked, "Are you really expecting the Seventh Fleet to come sailing up the Pearl River?" Recalled Baldwin, "They didn't think that was funny."

**Mountain Refuge.** Militia training has been stepped up everywhere. Visitors to the recent Canton trade fair report that a huge tunnel complex has been built beneath the city that will enable downtown residents to flee to the relative safety of White Cloud Hill nine miles away. Washington discounts rumors that the Chinese

have chiseled an elaborate command post out of 12,000-ft. mountains in Szechwan province as a refuge for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his deputy Lin Biao in the event of an attack. But U.S. sources have been told that underground headquarters have been dug in almost every province.

In Peking, mounds of earth from newly burrowed bomb shelters line the streets. When British Chargé d'Affaires John Denson peered too closely into one such hole two weeks ago, a shouting crowd surrounded him for two hours and accused him of spying. The Foreign Ministry brushed aside his protests and suggested that perhaps he should stay home, where he belonged.

Some Sinologists believe that Peking may be using the war preparations as a shock tactic designed to restore order and unity in the wake of Mao's divisive Cultural Revolution. But they do not discount the possibility that the Chinese are genuinely fearful of war. The Soviets recently created a new Central Asian Command along the border, and have resumed propaganda attacks in Mandarin Chinese broadcasts. Deeply suspicious of collusion between Moscow and the West, some Chinese diplomats suggest that the simultaneous meetings of the NATO and Warsaw Pacts two weeks ago were no coincidence.

## BRAZIL

### Hardship Post

After he was kidnapped from his Cadillac in Rio and held captive for 77 hours last September, U.S. Ambassador to Brazil C. Burke Elbrick suggested that Washington might want to transfer him to another post. The ambassador argued that he was indebted to the Brazilian junta (which freed 15 political prisoners to obtain his release) and therefore could no longer be effective. The State Department decided otherwise. Recalling that Nelson Rockefeller had earned high marks for *machismo* by doggedly continuing his South American tour despite a violent reception, Foggy Bottom ordered Elbrick to stay on because it would be the gutsy thing to do. Maybe too gutsy.

In the old days, Elbrick, 61, had been known to drop in on local samba clubs and dance into the wee hours. Now his ebullient style has been severely cramped. A couple of Marines camp out in his Rio residence. As many as 30 Brazilian security men shadow him at times. So many guards follow him to Sunday Mass that he has to come late and leave early to avoid a commotion. Only once since the kidnapping have Elbrick and his wife ventured out for a private dinner with friends, and security precautions turned the evening into a shambles. The besieged ambassador cannot even risk using his limousine. He travels in a convoy of two or three nondescript sedans, choosing a different one each time to confound would-be abductors.



CHINESE MILITIA WOMAN IN TRAINING  
Preparing for the worst.



U.S. TROOPS COUNTERATTACKING IN THE ARDENNES

## Hitler's Last Great Gamble

It began midsummer 1944 as a dream in the mind of Adolf Hitler. By late autumn, Wehrmacht planners had transformed the dream into battle orders. Hitler proposed to regain the offensive by deploying Germany's last reserves to smash through a tightly held sector of the Belgian front. His panzers would entrap as many as 30 U.S. and British divisions, capture the strategic supply port of Antwerp, and perhaps end the war in the West with a negotiated peace. Hitler thought of it as another Dunkirk and code-named it "Wacht am Rhein [Watch on the Rhine]." Allied archives would later refer to "the Battle of the Ardennes." To men who were there when the offensive began 25 years ago this week, it was "the breakthrough" or "the Battle of the Bulge"—and a time of sheer nightmare.

**Two-day Rush.** Today, historians describe the battle as Hitler's last great gamble, and German generals who survived the war as one of his great blunders. In interviews with several of those generals, TIME's Bonn Bureau Chief Benjamin Cate learned how they sought to alter *der Führer's* plan, and how the postwar history of Europe might have changed had they succeeded.

One of the generals is Hasso Manteuffel, who in 1944 led the Fifth Panzer Army, one of the two spearheads of the battle. Manteuffel, 72, now lives in quiet retirement near Munich. He told Cate how he and other officers under Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, Commander in Chief West, protested that Hitler had set an impossible timetable by ordering a two-day rush to the Meuse, 50 miles distant. "*Das ist unumverrichtlich* [This is irrevocable]," said General Alfred Jodl, Chief of Op-

erations at supreme headquarters, slamming his fist on a conference table. Manteuffel, a dedicated bridge player, suggested that Hitler was trying for a *grosser Schlag*, a grand slam. Why not, he proposed to Jodl, settle instead for a more attainable *kleiner Schlag*, or little slam, by advancing only as far as Liège? Jodl was unmoved.

Hitler promised 300,000 troops for the attack and strong Luftwaffe support. Manteuffel recalls that during one seven-hour meeting, Hitler asked Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring how many planes he could provide. "Three thousand," Göring said instantly. "You know

Göring," Hitler said to Manteuffel. "I think we shall have 2,000." The actual count was about 900.

Hitler had a strong reason for not accepting the opinions of his generals. As Siegfried Westphal, Rundstedt's chief of staff and now a steel executive, told Cate: "The generals had been wrong about both Czechoslovakia and Poland. None of us believed that such blitz campaigns were possible. Even in France, the German military predicted that the campaign would last much more than six weeks. Hitler was proved right, and ever afterward he followed his own judgment. Naturally, France was the last time he was right."

Had Hitler been persuaded to call off his attack, Europe might have followed a different course. According to Manteuffel, Stalin knew all about *Wacht am Rhein* through a security leak in German headquarters. He said nothing to his allies. Instead, he waited until the German offensive was spent, then sent the Red Army dashing across Eastern Europe a month after the Ardennes battle began. Stalin was apparently aware that the last 200,000 members of the German army's strategic reserve were among the men committed to the Ardennes. Had those reserves been available for the Eastern Front, they might have stopped or delayed the Russians. U.S. soldiers, as a result, might have met Russian troops at the Oder instead of on the Elbe, 125 miles farther west. The British would have reached the German rocket base at Peenemünde before the Russians captured its secrets. U.S. and British columns would have been first into Berlin. Moreover, the Russians would have lost the psychological advantage they have exploited throughout Eastern Europe by billing themselves as the true conquerors of the Third Reich.

**Quick Reaction.** Hitler, however, could not be swayed. On the morning of Dec. 16, 1944, German artillery shattered the darkness before dawn and shook the snow-covered pines with a massed barrage. Four U.S. divisions, stretched thin along an 88-mile front, were overwhelmed. U.S. intelligence was unaware that Rundstedt had tucked 26 divisions, 1,800 armored vehicles and 2,000 pieces of artillery in the snowy groves of the Schnee Eifel, waiting for "Null-Uhr [zero hour]."

Stunned at first, U.S. troops quickly recovered. By doggedly holding St. Vith and encircled Bastogne, they prevented the Germans from widening their front. Within three days, Allied Commander Dwight Eisenhower had 500,000 men en route toward the breakthrough. On Jan. 9, Hitler himself conceded failure. He had lost 27,000 killed, 38,000 wounded and 16,000 prisoners. At least 600 tanks had been destroyed. The U.S. had lost 8,000 dead, 48,000 wounded and 21,000 prisoners. Within a month the bulge had disappeared. Within two, the Allies were across the Rhine and racing through Germany.





## PEOPLE

The candidate's first foray into politics, a bid for the Ohio Senate seat held by Democrat **Stephen Young**, ended in frustration and dizzy spells when he took a header on a bath mat, injured his inner ear, and had to pull out of the race. That was 1964. This time, the first American to orbit the earth will take no chances. **John Glenn**, 48, announced that he will seek the post to be vacated by Young's retirement. "It will be the dirtiest campaign ever," he promised. "I won't take a bath."

When the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (A.S.C.A.P.) decided to celebrate **Rudolf**

national elections. When "Double O" made a plea for newspaper privileges to President **Jomo Kenyatta**, his one-time pal replied: "When I was in detention, the British gave me nothing to read but the Bible. Let Odinga read that. It will do him good."

"Keep those cards and letters coming, folks," drawled **Dean Martin** at the end of his NBC variety hour. "Cause me and Jeannie just love to get 'em." Not any more, **Jeanne Bieggier Martin**, 43, announced that she will sue for divorce, at her husband's request, after 20 years of marriage. **Dino**, it seems, is in love with another, much younger blonde. While half of Hollywood's **Clair** set claimed to be next in line to share his mail, gossipists pointed to **buxom Gail Renshaw**, **Miss World-U.S.A.**

It is not true that Attorney General **John Mitchell** has forbidden his garrulous wife to give any more interviews. "We have a full understanding in the family," **Martha's** husband told a group of investment bankers. "She can go on television any time at all; she can say anything to the newspapers. There's just one limitation that I've placed on her: she is to do it in Swahili."

To a man they Give a Damn, and gave their damndest. The all-celebrity chorale was assembled to raise funds—and the rafters—for the **Urban Coalition** with a taped TV commercial featuring the message: "Love—it comes in all colors." With professional help from **Mitch Miller**, **Leontyne Price** and the cast of *Hair*, lung power for the coalition chorus was supplied by **Ed Sullivan**, **Arthur Goldberg**, **Henry Fonda**, **Ralph Bunche**, **Chet Huntley**, **John D. Rockefeller III**, **Johnny Carson** and nearly 100 other distinguished Americans of every hue and hairstyle. All the group needs now is a title. The **Urbanes**?

Protesting "tyranny, sadism and so-called benevolent despotism," **Sirhan Sirhan** began a hunger strike at **San Quentin**. His specific grievance was his forced separation from other convicts on **Death Row**. The warden was unmoved. Under close medical observation, **Robert Kennedy's** convicted killer subsisted for more than two weeks on instant cocoa and coffee, plus his regular reading diet of **Arab newspapers** and *Playboy*.

One way to acquire a distinguished archaeological collection at little or no cost is to be named **Moshe Dayan**. The Israeli hero, now the nation's Defense Minister, digs a great many artifacts himself. Others he buys. "Dayan pays for everything with a check," explained an Arab antique dealer in **East Jerusalem**. "Tourists are usually in the shop at the time. When Dayan leaves, they are eager to cash the check for me so they

can frame it as a memento. So Dayan gets his archaeological pieces, I get my money, and the tourist gets the autographed check." And Dayan's bank account remains unchanged.

**Snoopy** notwithstanding, the **Red Baron** was "a gentleman throughout" who went out of his way to give **World War I** adversaries an even break. So insists **Manfred von Richthofen's** great-niece **Carmen**, 24, a dark-haired charmer who, of all things, pilots a typewriter for the **U.S. Army** in Germany.

As tailors fitted a turn-of-the-century cape, frock coat and waistcoat for his 5,000-tulip wedding on the **Johnny Carson** show, **Tiny Tim** announced that his honeymoon would begin with "a three-



FRIML & WIFE  
Strolls on his back.

**Friml's** 90th birthday with a grand to-do at **Manhattan's Shubert Theater**, they couldn't locate him: he was on a concert tour in Europe. Deaf but spry, his hair still red, his piano playing still powerful, **Friml** gives his Chinese wife **Kay**, 56, credit for his fitness: "Some mornings I get up and she walks on my back." During the **A.S.C.A.P.** tribute, a chorus and soloists sang his hits, and **Ogden Nash** reminisced:

*His music glistens in the dark  
charade;  
Even Agnew brays the Donkey  
Serenade.  
I trust that your conclusion and mine  
are similar.  
T'would be a happier world  
if it were Friml-er.*

His opposition party banned, and he himself imprisoned for "subversion," **Kenya's** flamboyant, left-leaning **Oginga Odinga** was dismayed to find that he was not even allowed to read about the



TINY & VICKI  
Baby, look at you now.

day fast from **S-E-X**." Said **Tim**: "Not even a kiss. I plan to give the **Lord** the first fruits of my marriage. If only more people followed the ways of **St. Paul** and **King David**." No comment from **Mrs. Tim-to-be**, **Vicki Budinger**, 17. There was even a rumor that **Tim's** tresses would be shorn for the event. "I hope they will," said his gray-haired mother, **Mrs. Tillie Khaury**. "He was such a beautiful baby."

"**Hare Krishna**," intoned **Allen Ginsberg**. "**Hare Krishna, Krishna, Krishna, Hare, Hare, Hare Rama, Hare Rama.**" The Hindu mantra worked no spell at all on peppery judge **Julius Hoffman**, in whose federal courtroom the bushy-bearded poet was appearing as a defense witness in the **Chicago conspiracy** trial. When the judge protested that he did not even know what language the guru was using, **Ginsberg** explained that it was **Sanskrit**. "Well," huffed **Hoffman**, "we don't allow **Sanskrit** in federal courts." **Hare, Hare.**

## THE LAW

### How to Heal a Violent Society

*The city will be composed of high-rise, high-security apartment houses and prospering commercial areas, surrounded by squalor. In the suburbs, behind window grilles and electronic surveillance equipment, the nervous homeowner will always keep his gun handy.*

AFTER more than a year of study, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence saw that grim picture of future life in urban America. The vision gave added urgency to the work of the commission's 13 members, who delved into every aspect of their subject from violence on television to gun control and assassinations. Last week, in their final statement, the commissioners called for a drastic change in the nation's priorities.

"We solemnly declare," they said, "that this nation is entering a period in which our people need to be as concerned by internal dangers to our free society as by any probable combination of external threats." The report cites a number of grave social ills, from racial discrimination to "the dislocation of human identity" caused by an affluent society. To combat a rising tide of violence, the commission called on the Government to reduce military spending as soon as the Viet Nam War is over and to increase money for general welfare programs by \$20 billion a year.

The commission was unanimous in all but one of its nine reports. It was publicly and sharply split on the issue of civil disobedience—a strategy for achieving social justice that has divided

other Americans since the birth of the Republic. A majority of seven members declared that they could not endorse a principle that may encourage anarchy. They suggested that a law should be obeyed, even if it may be unconstitutional, until a few citizens test the issue in the courts. Among the six commissioners who disagreed was Patricia Roberts Harris, former U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg. Mrs. Harris, a Negro, pointed out that blacks would have made little progress if they had relied on lawful tactics alone. "A nation whose history enshrines the civil disobedience of the Boston Tea Party," she said, "cannot fail to recognize at least the symbolic merit of demonstrated hostility to unjust laws."

**Personal Greed.** If a majority could not bring itself to support deliberate law-breaking, the entire group was nonetheless united against those who advocate repression to solve U.S. violence. Appointed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1968 after the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy, the commission was born amid fears about surging urban crime. The incoming Republican Administration vowed to make use of wiretap legislation, pledged a new war against

• The others: Chairman Milton S. Eisenhower, Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York City, Senator Philip Hart, Judge A. Leon Higginbotham and Psychiatrist Walter Menninger. The majority included Senator Roman Hruska, Congressmen Hale Boggs and William M. McCulloch, Author Eric Holler, Attorneys Leon Jaworski and Albert Jenner Jr. and Judge Ernest W. McFarland.

organized crime and proposed a bill for the nation's capital that would allow preventive detention of potentially dangerous defendants awaiting trial. But the commissioners, headed by Milton S. Eisenhower, adhered to the position that injustice is one of the most important causes of violence. They argued that both individual and group violence—for example, the rampage in Manhattan last week to protest President Nixon's visit—could ultimately be cured only by improvements in the quality of society. Describing the attitudes that weaken respect for U.S. institutions, the commission spoke of a pervasive suspicion among the poor that "personal greed and corruption are prevalent among even the highest public officials."

Eisenhower and his colleagues noted that the nation's prisons, far from reforming convicts, only aggravate their criminal outlook. Above all, they urged the importance of meeting the expectations of the poor for a better life. Failure to do so, they warned, "continues to be a prescription for violence."

Their research also debunked a number of myths about race. In a survey of 17 cities, they found inaccurate the widespread notion that "most violent crime is committed by black offenders against white victims." In two-thirds of homicides and aggravated assaults, and in three-fifths of rapes, the victim is black. A commission task force pointed out that many moderate Negroes support the Black Panthers' view that white America is an imperialist nation that holds blacks in bondage. Whenever black militants are harassed, said the task force, "the anti-colonial ideology gains new adherents."

**Rapid Change.** The commission did not ignore the need for better law enforcement in the U.S. Indeed, it proposed a doubling of public outlays for law enforcement to a total of no less than \$5 billion a year. Among other reforms, it recommended a vitally needed merger of police, courts and correction agencies into a single, efficient crime bureau in metropolitan areas.

But the commissioners urged reforms aimed at restoring respect for law among aggrieved groups—for example, by lowering the voting age to 18 and expanding legal services to the poor. They also proposed a law that would empower federal judges to grant injunctions to prevent "the threatened or actual interference" with an individual's right of free speech by other persons.

Although it was well aware of the "bewildering rapidity" of change in the U.S., the commission refused to compromise with those who are frightened by the trend. In its report on group violence, it noted that both the French and Russian revolutions reached "extraordinary peaks of violence because absolutist governments concentrated on efforts to restore order and refused to redress grievances or transfer a sufficient share of power to the emerging lower classes."



SCUFFLE IN MANHATTAN DURING VISIT BY PRESIDENT NIXON  
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## MEDICINE

### Food Additives: Blessing or Bane?

UNTIL the great cyclamate furor hubbled over this fall, few Americans paid much heed to the minute lettering on their cakes and candy bars, diet drinks and instant dinners. Even a magnifying glass was little help in explaining those obscure polysyllables: propylene glycol, calcium silicate, butylated hydroxyanisole, sorbitan monostearate, methylparaben. Today, the portmanteau word for such substances is "additives"—which translates into myriad chemicals that have made even bread a laboratory product and the cheese spread to put on it a test-tube concoction.

For many reasons, laboratory technicians and manufacturers have had to infuse foods with an infinite variety of chemicals. Two vital questions now nag both consumers and pure-food authorities: 1) Are these additives necessary or even desirable? and 2) Are they safe? In virtually no case is a simple declarative answer possible.

The additive explosion was triggered by three unrelated developments. First came the growth of a food-processing and -packaging industry that involved shipping foodstuffs thousands of miles and storing them for months. That was followed by a growing demand for health-promoting, and especially nonfattening foods. Then came the popularity of prefabricated, quick-service dishes and meals such as TV dinners. In assembling their products, manufacturers and processors have relied in some cases on nature's chemicals; in others, they have synthesized a chemically identical version of a natural product; in yet others, they have turned to new products unknown in nature. As a consequence, Americans are ingesting, willy-nilly, ever greater quantities of additives, perhaps as much as 3 lbs. annually (depending on how additives are defined) for an adult who eats the average of 1,400 lbs. of food a year.

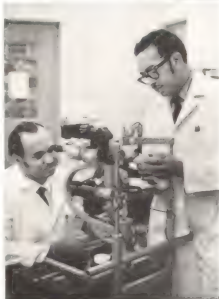
**Taste for Salt.** By far the most ancient and frequently used of all food additives, of course, is sodium chloride (NaCl), or "common salt," which is essential to animal life. Grazing animals and fish extract it from the plants they eat. So peoples who live largely by hunting and fishing get all their bodies' salt requirements with no special effort.

However, salt can also be an agent of disease and death. A single quarter-pound dose might kill a man. Even the healthy person's normal intake of about one-third ounce a day is harmful to patients with certain types of high blood pressure or heart or kidney disease for whom doctors prescribe "salt-free" (actually, low-salt) diets. Some physicians

fear that the inclusion of salt in such products as baby foods may lead to an excessive taste for salt and perhaps disease later in life. One manufacturer replies that every baby must have some salt, and that the concentration in its infant foods is only half that in canned foods for adults.

The dispute over monosodium glutamate (MSG) is more complicated. Although it occurs naturally in some foods, especially mushrooms, sugar beets and green peas, it is not essential to life. Yet preparations of a seaweed have

WALTER DUNNETT



TESTING EFFECTS OF ADDITIVES ON RATS  
A need for information and protection.

been used for thousands of years to lend savor to bland food and give it a "meaty" taste. Japanese chemists discovered in 1908 that an active ingredient of the seaweed is MSG. Not only many Americans but some Orientals as well suffer a sensitivity reaction to MSG—sold in the U.S. under the trade name AcCent—and virtually all such sensitive people will react to an excessive dose with discomforting, if temporary allergic symptoms. After recent outbreaks of this "Chinese restaurant syndrome," New York City's department of health has instructed cooks to use MSG sparingly, but no one knows what precise limits should be set.

**The Popeye Problem.** Two things prompted the Food and Drug Administration to undertake a detailed study of other possible effects of MSG. One was the recent publicity given to the fact that some baby foods are laced with the stuff—simply to titillate their mothers' palates, as Consumer Crusader

Ralph Nader (TIME cover, Dec. 12) pointed out. (Gerber is no longer putting MSG into baby foods.) The second factor was a report by a St. Louis psychiatrist, Dr. John W. Olney, that when he injected MSG under the skin of newborn mice it caused brain damage and other developmental defects. Though this phenomenon may have no relevance to MSG's use in food, there is no medical evidence on the possible damage of concentrated MSG in a baby's bloodstream. In fact, many potentially harmful chemicals occur naturally in familiar foods. Spinach is rich in oxalic acid, which is the foundation for a common type of kidney stone. (Popeye in real life would have suffered endless agonies from passing stones.) Carotene, the pigment that puts the color in egg yolks, sweet potatoes, mangoes and carrots, is used by the body to make Vitamin A—but consumed in excess causes a kind of jaundice.

**GRAS List.** In crude or dilute form, nature supplies some of the substances that have recently gained notoriety as additives. The first additives, aside from salt and seaweed, were spices. Some contained natural preservatives. Benzoic acid, used as a preservative for almost a century, occurs naturally in berries and in some fruits, such as plums.

The first U.S. Pure Food and Drug Law, passed in 1906, gave the enforcement authority (now the Food and Drug Administration) no power to rule on the safety of any substance that a food processor proposed to put in his packages. Not until 1958 did Congress give the FDA the power to pass on additives before they went on the market. But by then it had delayed so long that hundreds of additives had been in wide use for many years. So the new law contained a grandfather clause, exempting substances already employed and "generally recognized as safe (GRAS) for their intended use."

The FDA's list of GRAS items classifies hundreds of additives by their principal purposes. Among them are **anticaking agents**, which keep such things as salt, sugar and milk powder from clumping; **preservatives** (31 listed); **emulsifying agents**, used to help homogenize substances that do not normally mix (like fat in milk); **sequestrants**, which keep trace minerals from turning fats and oils rancid, and are also used to prevent some soft drinks from turning cloudy. In addition, the FDA has 80 "miscellaneous" GRAS substances from alfalfa to zedoary (an aromatic East Indian herb), from pipsissewa leaves to ylang-ylang, used as flavoring.

In all, there are thousands of permitted additives, and few have ever been tested thoroughly for possible long-term harmful effects in man. No one can be really certain that any particular substance may not induce cancer over a 50-year period, or cause thalidomide-like deformities in the unborn. Although there is only the remotest chance



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that even a minority might be hazardous, further testing of many additives, by chromatographic techniques that did not exist when the substances were first introduced, is clearly indicated. The FDA has already arranged with the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council to supervise such studies of saccharin and MSG.

Saccharin has been known since 1879, and widely used since the early 1900s. Entirely synthetic and unknown in nature, saccharin provides no calories, and nothing to elevate the diabetic's blood sugar. Its one drawback is that in many users' mouths it leaves a bitter aftertaste. The cyclamates, also synthetic, are effective sweeteners with the advantage of no aftertaste. Extensively tested in the 1940s and '50s, cyclamates slipped onto the GRAS list just before Congress closed the books in 1958 and before it adopted an amendment, named for Representative James J. Delaney of New York City, that forbade the inclusion in foodstuffs of any substance known to cause cancer in man or any species of animal. Whether the Delaney Amendment is a wise provision or is too simplistic is debatable. It is possible that many otherwise safe substances, if given to animals in grossly excessive doses and by unnatural routes (for example, injected under the skin of newborn mice), might cause cancer in some species.

**Crude Guillotine.** Cyclamates, given in doses 50 times greater than any likely human consumption, have caused bladder cancer in mice and rats, as well as the birth of deformed chicks. This was duly reported to the FDA by Abbott Laboratories, major producer of cyclamates. Within a week, Secretary Robert Finch of Health, Education and Welfare ordered cyclamates off the market, save for fruit already packed for distribution or foods prescribed for health reasons, for diabetes, say, or obesity.

In the two months since the cyclamate ban, it has become clear that far too many additives were used and allowed on the GRAS list without sufficient testing. Moreover, an automatic guillotine such as that applied to cyclamates is too crude an instrument for determining acceptability. The food industry obviously has to use some additives to keep its products from spoiling and—in the case of such staples as bread, milk and iodized salt—to give them maximum nutritive and health-protective values. Just as clearly, the public demands low-calorie sweeteners as well as precooked heat-and-serve meals. It is well within the competence of chemists and manufacturers to meet society's demands safely. At the same time, the FDA needs the unquestioned authority and financial resources to ensure that the world's greatest consuming society can be far better informed—and protected. Last week's reorganization of the FDA, with the prospect of an increased budget, should make that possible.



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# ART

## Old Hat No More

Wooden hat blocks are old hat to the millinery industry. A designer fashions a new shape, a whittler carves it in wood, and then it is mechanically mass-produced. Felt is draped over it, steamed and pressed into its contours, and *voilà!*—a new hat.

One of the first artists to look appreciatively at these molds was Alfonso Ossorio, an obsessive assemblagist who produces gaudy conglomerations out of the found objects that he squirrels away against the day when he may need them. By now he has accumulated hundreds of hat blocks at his East Hampton studio, has used scores in his sculptures. Blocks have also long fascinated Arne Ekstrom, director of the Cordier & Ekstrom gallery. When he got the notion of supplying various artists with a block of their choice to see what they could produce, he asked to use Ossorio's collection as a source of supply.

**Discovered Figure.** The resulting show, called "Blocked Metaphors," is a testament to the artists' variety and ingenuity. Saul Steinberg, for instance, discovered that his own block had been made to come apart so that a finished hat could be removed without tearing. He was so taken with the beauty of the original that he decided merely to rearrange the parts. "The figure emerged spontaneously," he says, and it reminded him of Renaissance portraits of Italian patricians. In his antic fashion, Steinberg named his creation *Il Duca di Mantova*, after the playboy nobleman in *Rigoletto*. Bernard Priem, a New York painter who had worked with hat blocks before, did not change the basic form



SAUL STEINBERG'S "IL DUCA DI MANTOVA"



PRRIEM'S "GIRL TALK"



CAREY'S "OWL'S HEAD"



MAN RAY'S "L'IMPOSTEUR"

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\*TRADEMARK

of the block either. "It was a human image, after all. My idea was to retain the identity but to metamorphose it into a new image." So he added a telephone and rigged it to a recording of two girls chatting on the phone. His *Girl Talk* greets the visitor with snippets like "All I can remember is sitting in the Excelsior."

Man Ray, the old Dadaist who is still alive and well and living in Paris, transformed his hat block into a block-head by adding dark glasses and a scholar's mortarboard. *L'Imposteur* reads the caption at the bottom. Martin Carey, a fine-line draftsman of frogs, insects and flowers, turned his block on its side, decorated it with butterflies and found, much to his surprise, that it reminded him of both an owl and a soldier's helmet. Jasper Johns coated his block with metallic plaster—and his dealer put a price of \$9,000 on it. Andy Warhol stripped his hat block down to its core and discovered a phallic symbol; with characteristic idiosyncrasy, he priced it



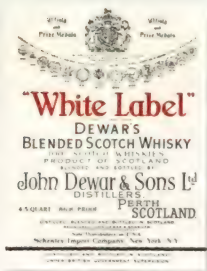
OSSORIO & BLOCKS

Variations on a wooden theme.

at 3¢ (the gallery promptly bought it).

**Aesthetic Cannibalism.** With the extravagance of one who has hat blocks to squander, Ossorio used no fewer than five in his work titled *Waste Not, Want Not*. Along with four mannequin heads, plus the weathered skull of a toothy lion, they have been neatly skewered, mounted and bedecked with paint to form a chillingly gay totem pole. It stands as a kind of wry monument to Ossorio's own aesthetic cannibalism.

Today the hat-block industry relies on aluminum toms as well. But Harry Glasgall, founder of the Empire Hat Block Corp., which designed and manufactured most of the blocks in the show, confessed that he was "flabbergasted" when he saw what had been done with his product. "Everything I saw there was something I had seen, made or handled myself. It never crossed my mind that they could become art objects." He foresees no run on old hat blocks, however. Empire, in fact, has just burned a couple of thousand for lack of space.



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*John Dewar*



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## ENVIRONMENT

### Ford's Better Idea

Essential though it is, the automobile has one major fault: wherever it is used in large numbers, its internal-combustion engine contributes mightily to air pollution problems. As a result, automakers have already been sued on various grounds for degrading the environment. Moreover, they will have to move with unaccustomed speed to meet the minimum requirements of tough federal laws that go into effect in 1971. Instead of merely waiting for the next anti-pollution blow to fall, however, Henry Ford II has a better idea.

**Top Priority.** In an announcement that was precedent-setting for Detroit, he committed the Ford Motor Co. "to an intensified effort to minimize pol-

luted some \$31 million for vehicle pollution control next year. It will also spend approximately \$60 million to cut air and water pollution at Ford plants over the next two years. But in the end, Chairman Ford admitted, "at least a major part" of the cost of such environmental protection will be passed along to the consumer.

While all the improved devices in Ford's future may eventually reduce the exhaust pollution of internal-combustion engines by 90%, the ultimate solution to the problem could well be a new kind of power source. Ford has already experimented with electric cars and gas-turbine engines for trucks and buses. Now, Henry Ford II promised that it will also move "ahead on the more difficult problem of developing a turbine engine for passenger car use."

### Custer's Last Stand

Just when most farmers are settling down for a winter's rest, Virgil Steyer Jr. is usually working hardest. Steyer grows Christmas trees on large tracts near secluded Mount Storm, W. Va. (pop. 160): every December he serves droves of customers attracted from miles around by the high quality of his crop. But this year business is bad. Not that the Yuletide spirit has suddenly evaporated; rather Steyer's livelihood has been threatened by air pollution.

Mount Storm's air is being fouled by emissions from the smokestacks of two huge coal-burning power plants owned by Virginia Electric and Power Co. Since the plants were fired up in 1966, harvests of Mount Storm's tree farmers have tumbled by as much as 90%. Steyer had hoped to sell 20,000 trees this year. Instead, customers have been driving away in empty trucks, unwilling to take the stunted and misshapen trees. "I think I'm out of business," Steyer says sadly. Dr. Franklin Custer, the other principal tree grower near Mount Storm, used to cut 10,000 trees a year. This season he expects to chop fewer than 1,000. One scraggly group of trees, only two miles from the belching smokestacks, may well be Custer's last stand on that site.

"The place is a disaster area," says University of Montana Botanist Clarence C. Gordon, who was called in with other scientists by the National Air Pollution Control Administration to study the problem. The scientists found that sulphur dioxide in the fumes kills the tips of some trees and causes others to lose their needles or grow buds in unsightly clusters.

Government officials are now looking into the power company's argument that insects—not pollutants—are to blame. Whatever they decide, Virginia Electric and Power does not seem unduly concerned: it is proceeding with the construction of a third Mount Storm plant, scheduled for completion in 1973.

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**For after shave, after shower,  
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HENRY FORD II

**Commitment against fumes.**

lution from its products and plants in the shortest possible time." Top priority in Ford's program will be given to cleaning up the internal-combustion engine. The company is road-testing 24 "concept" cars containing entirely new equipment designed to reduce exhaust fumes. Several hundred such cars will soon be sold, leased or lent to private fleet owners and governmental agencies for further testing. In related anti-pollution moves, Ford technicians are speeding the development of:

► An electrical device costing roughly \$600 that will enable garage mechanics to make the proper adjustments in a car's engine to minimize pollution.

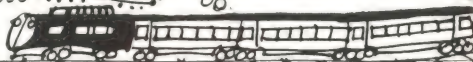
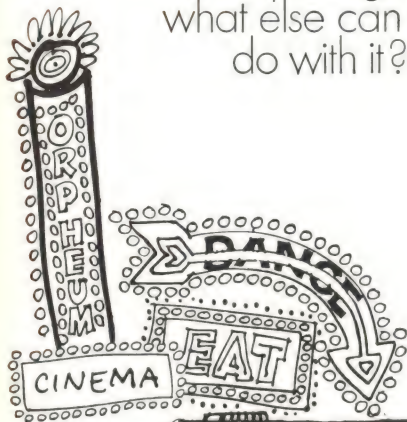
► An experimental kit to cut pollution by about 50% that will fit into Ford cars now on the road.

► A device that will check for the emission of pollution from cars while they are still on the assembly line.

Ford's efforts will be costly—and not only to Ford. The company has bud-



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## EDUCATION

### Campus Communiqué

While antiwar students observed the Viet Nam Moratorium for the third time last week, the conservative Young Americans for Freedom staged "Tell It to Hanoi" teach-ins at a number of campuses across the country. Because of war weariness or the distraction of exams, the activists on both sides failed to rouse much enthusiasm. As a campus issue, the war seems to be receding slightly in favor of more immediate concerns. Items:

► At Harvard, University Hall was seized for the fourth time this year. Two weeks ago, members of the Or-

► At the University of Akron, a dozen black students occupied the administration building while the president and 19 staff members locked themselves in their offices. Responding to rumors that the blacks were armed and shots had been fired, Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes rushed 90 state troopers to the campus, alerted 700 National Guardsmen, dispatched the state adjutant general to Akron, and then flew there himself. "We are not going to put up with it in Ohio," said the Governor. At issue on the urban campus, which draws many of its students from the blue-collar families of Akron's rubber workers, were the blacks' demands for their own cultural center and a black studies program independent of the university hierarchy. The occupiers left the building three hours after they had entered it. No one was injured, and the eviction weapon was a court injunction.

► At Manhattanville College (Purchase, N.Y.), 18 black students staged a sit-in at the main classroom building for the entire week. They wanted the Catholic women's school, which includes four Kennedy's (Ethel, Jean, Eunice and Joan) among its alumnae, to increase its black students and faculty, hire a black dean, provide a black student center and more courses dealing with black experience. The administration response was mild. The sit-inners were told that if the protest ended peacefully, no penalties would be imposed. One college official described the demonstrators' demands as "not unusual" and their conduct as "peaceful, orderly and quiet."

### Saving Parochial Schools

Parochial schools, which enroll some 90% of all private-school students in the U.S., are in deep financial trouble. And the Supreme Court has not yet decided how far the separate states can go in using public funds to rescue them.

The real question is whether the Court is inclined to interpret the First Amendment in terms of absolutism or pragmatism. In recent years, the nation's social needs have modified the separation of church and state. Churches receive many kinds of government aid for their hospitals, poverty work and other public services. The rationale, as lawmakers see it, is that churches play a key role in the welfare state. Besides, the denial of such aid might violate the First Amendment's "free exercise" of religion clause. What limits, if any, remain?

In 1947, the Supreme Court allowed states to finance busing for parochial-school students; in 1968, it approved free textbooks for secular courses. More direct state aid seemed impermissible.

Then came the Pennsylvania Education Act of 1968, the first of its kind in the U.S. That remarkable law allows the state to pay parochial schools the "actual cost" of teachers' salaries, textbooks and teaching aids in four secular fields: mathematics, modern foreign languages, physical sciences and physical education. The state pays the bill (\$4,000,000 last year) solely through its income from horse and harness racing.

For added constitutional justification, the law was drafted to apply to all non-public schools. The ironic result is that some well-off private schools are now getting support. Because of their higher instructional costs and all-secular staffs, their share of public funds is often higher than that of parochial schools. For example, the Baldwin School, a prosperous private institution in Bryn Mawr, receives \$102.68 per pupil, while the average parish and diocesan school gets only \$8.

Long-Run Loss? The law has just been upheld by a 2-to-1 vote of a panel of three federal judges. Its chief purpose, said the majority, is to "promote the welfare of the people." While it may indirectly benefit sectarian teaching, the state remains neutral toward religion—just as it does in providing parochial schoolchildren with free lunches, a practice already considered legal. Because the Pennsylvania law does not "advance or inhibit religion," said the majority, it satisfies the First Amendment.

Not so, argued the lone dissenter, Judge William H. Hastie, a leading Negro jurist and former governor of the Virgin Islands. As he sees it, the law's real aim is not to promote the general welfare but to save parochial schools. Wrote Hastie: "When the state reimburses a sectarian school for any part of the curricular costs of a teaching program, it directly finances and supports a religious enterprise. Constitutionally, such subsidizing of a religious enterprise is not essentially different from a payment of public funds into the treasury of a church." The fact that such aid incidentally relieves the state of the burden of educating more children at full cost, said Hastie, does not make it any less unconstitutional.

Opponents of the Pennsylvania law plan an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Meanwhile, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Ohio have enacted similar laws to help their troubled parochial schools. Many other states are considering a move in Pennsylvania's direction. Whatever the outcome, critics argue that a victory for nonpublic schools in the Supreme Court may produce a loss in the long run. For one thing, there might be less money to go around for public schools, especially those in the ghetto. In addition, critics note, to win tax support the church schools must prove that they provide a public service and also submit to more legislative regulation. The result could be less religion in parochial schools and ultimate secularization.



HARVARD DEMONSTRATORS  
Bowling to a court injunction.

ganization for Black Unity partially occupied the administration building to dramatize their demand that 20% of the construction workers on future Harvard buildings be drawn from black and other "third world" groups. Last week Harvard officials cited the fact that the nonwhite population of Cambridge is less than 10%, and called the 20% proposal "gross and seemingly illegal discrimination." Next day black students responded by preventing workers from entering a Harvard construction site, taking over the faculty club and seizing University Hall as well. Once more, they left the administration building without causing violence, but not before Harvard got a court injunction, and at least 50 blacks were suspended. At week's end the outlook for an end to disruption was uncertain.

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## THE THEATER

### A Modern Woman's Hedda

Considering that Hedda Gabler is one of the great character portraits in all of drama, it is amazing how stifferly unanimous critical opinion and acting theory have been about her. For decades after decades, there has been one Hedda, with only minor variations. This Hedda has been a malevolent vampire, a caged prisoner of boredom, a raging neurasthenic. Now, in an off-off-Broadway production by a group called the Opposites Company, there is a new *Hedda Gabler*, not only beautifully performed, but deeply and subtly thought through in terms that make it peculiarly relevant to the psychic and psychological states of the modern woman.

The basic premise from which this radically new Hedda has sprung is simply stated in the program notes by Ted van Griethuysen, who directed the play and is also the company's artistic director: "Hedda Gabler is a good person." The premise itself is highly debatable. Is Falstaff a good person? Are Ivanov and Amanda Wingfield good persons? As soon as a great playwright has performed an in-depth analysis and portrayal of a character, that character transcends the confining categories of good and evil. Such a character then becomes rich, opaque, fascinating, and strangely elusive of definition—in precisely the way that provocative and interesting people are in real life. Even if the premise is largely false, a plenitude of insights results from applying it.

**Angles of Vision.** In *A Doll's House*, Ibsen showed the transition of a woman from a pampered doll to an independent being. In *Hedda Gabler*, he

examines a woman who has totally left the doll's house in spirit, but who still occupies it out of social convention, a woman trying to "keep house" with desperate calm while undergoing an inner earthquake. One reason that the present production seems so fresh is that Hedda's plight is seen from Hedda's angle of vision. The ultraneurotic Hedda has always been seen from a man's angle of vision and caters to the male notion that a woman only has to be made love to properly to avoid becoming an angry, frustrated bitch.

Ibsen foresaw that the emancipation of women actually meant the masculinization of women. In a real but relatively limited sense, that meant acquiring a man's education and doing a man's job. The trickier task was to appropriate the realms of a man's mind and will, areas that men have guarded with far more fear and hostility than they have ever displayed about their clubs, offices and colleges.

This is the threat that Hedda poses to the men in her life. She is a woman with a strong masculine component. She identifies with her late father, an army general. She not only cherishes her father's pistols; she uses them, a symbolic and physical annexation of male prerogatives. As a very young woman, Hedda had been a kind of platonic muse to Eilert Lovborg (David Newman), a brilliant but dissolute writer and thinker. Out of temperamental fatigue ("I have danced practically all my life—and I was, getting tired . . . My summer was up"), she has married an aunt-coddled pedant named Jorgen Tesman. She has moved from a danger that stirred her inner being to a safety

that curdles her inner being. Lovborg has since found a new muse, Thea Elvsted (Anne Fielding), a married woman far inferior to Hedda in intellect but considerably more pliant sexually. Tesman's friend, the somewhat sinister Judge Brack (Aldo Bonura), enters this tangled web with the motive of exploiting some of Hedda's smoldering needs. Each helps to weave her doom.

**Defiance of Fate.** Rebecca Thompson, who plays Hedda, is one of the singularly lovely women of the U.S. stage. Her head and profile are sculpted with the exquisite delicacy of a Tanagra figurine. Her performance is infused with intelligence. She is the embodiment of a woman who outwardly entices and inwardly rejects. She judges and rejects the men around her not because they are men, but because they do not measure up to her ideal. Her state of mind is not one of hysteria and frustration, but of wry, detached, ironic amusement, though occasionally her inability to suffer fools gladly brings out the sharp flick of her tongue. Rebecca Thompson's Hedda is an intellectual romantic. Part of her seeks out the austere companionship of fine minds; another part of her yearns for a man on horseback to sweep her off her high horse. Hedda can be revolted by things womanly, such as her own pregnancy, and yet crave a man "with vine leaves in his hair" who will release her from her inner reserve, from her lingering fastidiousness about what society will think.

What is insufferably painful for this Hedda is that she is totally aware of her predicament. She has aimed at the stars and settled for a cinder, Tesman, with his dusty burrowing in book after book, is not a spouse but a sedative. It is to Actor Peter Hansen's credit that he humanizes a library mole so that the audience can accord him the pity that Hedda withholds.

For a scrupulously contained performance, Rebecca Thompson's Hedda is remarkably affecting and finally tragic. In part, this is due to Ted van Griethuysen, whose deliberate gravity of direction achieves cumulative emotional intensity. Hedda moves inexorably toward tragedy in that her ultimate foe is not the world of mere men but what O'Neill called "the God of Things as They Are." She regards suicide as the perfect act of courage because it is her *non servium* to that god, her defiance of human fate.

When Hedda Gabler's fatal pistol shot rang out offstage on opening night, a young woman in the second row quivered as if the bullet had entered her body, and the only sounds that those sitting near her heard thereafter, except for the last lines of the play, were her muffled sobs. On subsequent evenings, other women similarly wept. Laughter is always touted in the New York theater, but tears are too rare to go unmentioned. That is earned emotion, a spontaneous accolade to an extremely fine actress and a very great play.

DAVID BERNSTEIN



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Source: latest U. S. Government figures.

## SCIENCE

### Unnatural Water

Western scientists were frankly skeptical. Russian Chemists N. Fedyaikin and Boris Deryagin claimed to have produced a mysterious new substance, a form of water that was so stable it boiled only at about 1,000°F., or five times the boiling temperature of natural water. It did not evaporate. It did not freeze—though at -40°F., with little or no expansion, it hardened into a glassy substance quite unlike ice.

Despite its remarkable qualities, the polymerized water, or polywater as it was called, was basically the familiar old  $H_2O$ . Or was it? The question was so intriguing, recalls University of Maryland Chemist Ellis Lippincott, that "we couldn't afford not to look at it."

Beginning early this year, Lippincott

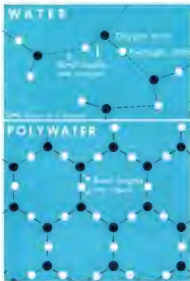
strange properties might eventually make it useful as a superlubricant, a substitute for antifreeze, or fuel for an extraordinarily efficient steam engine.

Physicist Frank Donahoe of Pennsylvania's Wilkes College, for one, thinks that polywater could pose a threat to all life. Once it is let loose, the stuff might propagate itself, feeding on natural water. The proliferation of such a dense, inert liquid, warns Donahoe, could stop all life processes, turning the earth into a "reasonable facsimile of Venus." Lippincott considers that danger slight. But he concedes that until scientists know more about polywater, they should handle it with care.

### Great Leap Downward

Several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back.

—Mao Tse-tung, March 1927



and co-workers from the university and the National Bureau of Standards analyzed samples of polywater with the aid of laser beams and one of the world's two double-beam microscope spectrometers. They found that the chemical bonds between polywater's hydrogen and oxygen atoms were always of equal length, which made them stronger than the bonds between atoms of a natural-water molecule. They also confirmed that polywater is a totally new substance with all the properties the Russians had claimed.

**Threatening Thimble.** So far, the total quantity made in Russia, the U.S. and Britain would fill little more than a thimble. But researchers are busily making more, and the process is surprisingly simple. A vacuum is created in a bowl that contains tiny glass capillary tubes; water vapor is introduced into the vacuum, and in two or three days polywater collects in the capillaries. Scientists conjecture that polywater's

Was the Chairman prescient? Could he have anticipated by more than four decades an ingenious scheme just conceived by University of Alaska Geophysicist David Stone? If Mao had carried his maxim a little farther, says Stone in a tongue-in-cheek letter to *Geotimes*, China could have threatened distant enemies with mass destruction years before the development of nuclear warheads and long-range missiles.

If at a given moment, says Stone, all 750 million Chinese obeyed a command to jump from 6½-ft. platforms, they could constitute a "geophysical weapon." How? Assuming that the average Chinese weighs 110 lbs., he calculates, the energy released by this great leap downward would be equivalent to an earthquake of magnitude 4.5 on the Richter scale, causing extensive damage in China. But if the Chinese were organized to jump roughly every 54 minutes—just when the peak of a barely perceptible natural ripple that continually sweeps around the earth's surface passes through China—they might set up a world-girdling resonant ground wave that would cause even greater damage in distant lands. By properly aligning their millions and carefully timing the jump, for example, Peking could aim a ground wave along the Pacific-rim earthquake belt and possibly set off quakes in California far more devastating than the original shocks in China.

Would there be any defense? Certainly, says Stone. By having its population jump between the peaks of the ground waves stirred up by China, a threatened nation could damp them out before they grew intense enough to cause damage. There is one catch: the target nation would, of course, be less populous than China. Thus, to effectively counteract the massive Chinese geophysical aggression, its people would have to jump from higher platforms.

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# Is a college education still a luxury, or has it become a necessity that should be tax deductible?



A prerequisite for employment? A "union" card? A modern-day work permit? Is this what a college degree has come to mean in today's complex and technically-oriented working world?

A great many people think so. And they feel obligated to provide their children with this "necessity." Yet with the cost of a college education soaring to nearly \$4000 a year, most people need some kind of help to handle it. One proposal is to make college costs an income tax deduction, like any other professional expense.

But others argue that going to college is a luxury. An option for those who can afford it; unnecessary for those who can't. They feel that an income tax deduction certainly won't solve the college-cost problem; will be, at best, an after-the-fact alleviation of expense in

favor of a small minority. Everybody's taxes help support public colleges and universities and make them available to all. And many people feel that's enough.

The point is, what do you think? It's not your job to come up with the final answer to this issue — but it's important that you come out with your opinion about it. And make your opinion known, in writing. To your Congressman, so he can weigh what you think when he votes on legislation.

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## MILESTONES

**Married.** David Ormsby Gore, 51, fifth Lord Harlech, former British Ambassador to the U.S.; and Pamela Colin, 33, stunning New York socialite and former London editor of *Vogue* magazine; he for the second time; in an Anglican ceremony, in London.

**Married.** The Rev. Daniel McLellan, 53, Denver-born Roman Catholic missionary priest, who while on assignment in Peru in 1960 pioneered a savings and loan association, Mutual El Pueblo, for impoverished peasants, then built it into a \$14 million concern; and Ada Chirinos, 28, his Peruvian secretary; in a civil ceremony; in Lima, McLellan's resignation from the priesthood was sanctioned by the Pope, and he will stay on as president of the savings and loan association, now Peru's largest.

**Died.** Eric Portman, 66, commanding figure of British stage and screen for nearly half a century; in Cornwall, England. Broodingly handsome, Portman starred at the Old Vic as early as 1927, and during his career appeared in more than 100 British productions. Americans know him best for his Broadway roles in *Separate Tables* (1956), *O'Neill's A Touch of the Poet* (1958) and *A Passage to India* (1962).

**Died.** Frank ("Lefty") O'Doul, 72, baseball great of the 1920s and '30s; of a heart attack; in San Francisco. O'Doul wasted eight seasons until 1924 as a mediocre pitcher before realizing that his future was elsewhere on the diamond. As an outfielder with the Philadelphia Phillies and Brooklyn Dodgers, he won two National League batting crowns, and generally tore up the league until he retired in 1934 with a .349 lifetime batting average.

**Died.** Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, 83, World War II naval hero of the Battle of Midway, turning point of the Pacific war; in Pebble Beach, Calif. In June 1942, Spruance and Admiral Frank Fletcher led a task force of 353 warplanes and 50 fighting ships against a vastly superior Japanese armada, and in a three-day battle sank four of the imperial navy's carriers, thereby virtually destroying its main offensive punch.

**Died.** Ole Singstad, 87, master tunnel builder; in Manhattan. Beginning with New York's Holland Tunnel in 1927, the Norwegian-born Singstad designed and built dozens of underwater highways, including New York's Lincoln and Brooklyn Battery tunnels, and the 14-mile Baltimore Harbor Tunnel. What made them all possible was his ingenious ventilation system, which sucks out deadly exhaust fumes with fans so efficiently that it has become standard the world over.



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nightcap



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## BUSINESS

### THE RISING RISK OF RECESSION

THERE has always been an element of risk that Washington's efforts to control the worst inflation since the Korean War would tip the U.S. economy into a recession. The Administration's policy of gradual slowdown has been shaped to avoid any pronounced increase in unemployment. Though a few pessimists have been issuing warnings for several months, the danger of recession has generally seemed remote. Rather suddenly, the mood has shifted. In the privacy of executive suites, top bankers and corporate leaders have begun to voice their fears that the U.S.

boding. That anxiety has been intensified by the hearish warnings of one economist who was once ignored and ridiculed, but whose views have lately had an important influence on Government policy. He is Milton Friedman, the leading iconoclast of U.S. economics. "We are heading for a recession at least as sharp as that in 1960-61," he warns. "There is more than a 90% chance of that. There is a 40% chance of a really severe recession, such as occurred in 1957-58, when unemployment reached 8%."

Friedman, a 57-year-old economics professor at the University of Chicago,

fluent U.S. economists of the era. Heller, who was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers under President Kennedy, has whimsically classified Friedman's supporters: "Some are Friedmanly, some Friedmanian, some Friedmanesque, some Friedmanic and some Friedmaniacs. Friedman is just Friedman."

Milton Friedman's opinions have particular weight now because the Nixon Administration has placed great reliance on the policies that he prescribes to deal with the current inflation. Friedman was one of Richard Nixon's chief eco-

STYL: JACOB



FRIEDMAN ADDRESSING HIS HARVARD FAN CLUB  
Bearish warnings from a maverick messiah.

might be sliding into an economic slump that could have important political and social consequences.

Businessmen see the signs of decline in their sluggish sales and softening profits. Investors discern the portents in falling stocks; the Dow-Jones industrial average has dropped 9% in the past five weeks to a three-year low. The Consumer Confidence Index, measured by the highly regarded University of Michigan Research Center, has plummeted from 95 in January to 79.7 now. President Nixon's economic policymakers recognize the signs of danger. "We are now at a critical period of economic events," says Budget Director Robert Mayo. "The economy is in a state of delicate balance."

The majority of economists outside Government believe that U.S. business still has enough momentum to avoid what would be the first recession in nine years. They point to such sources of strength as record capital investment. Still, businessmen have a sense of fore-

is still regarded by critics as a pixie or a pest, but he has reached the scholar's pinnacle: leadership of a whole school of economic thought. It is called the "Chicago school," and its growing band of followers argues that money supply is by far the most important and fastest-acting of the economic regulators at the Government's disposal. Friedman has succeeded in persuading many leading economists to adopt his monetary theories, at least in part.

Most economists also follow the teaching of Britain's late John Maynard Keynes, who articulated how changes in taxes and government spending can stabilize business cycles. The philosophy of Keynes, who died in 1946, has dominated the economic policies of industrial nations since World War II. Today's prevailing belief, however, is a hybrid: most economists now consider themselves "Friedmanesque Keynesians." Having risen from maverick to messiah, Friedman ranks with Walter Heller and John Kenneth Galbraith as one of the most in-

fluential advisers during the election campaign. He did not seek a full-time job in Washington because "I like to be an independent operator," but his ideas are highly regarded within the Administration. "Milton Friedman has influenced my thinking," says Paul McCracken, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, who describes himself as "Friedmanesque." The two men often talk on the telephone, chat privately at the many conventions that economists attend. McCracken has been monetarist-minded for years, and since he took office the council has begun running computer calculations about the future course of the U.S. economy based on monetary indicators. Friedman has even closer relations with Arthur Burns, Nixon's choice to succeed William McChesney Martin next month as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Friedman studied under Burns at Rutgers, and they have often spent evenings in animated discussion at Ely, Vt., where both own country homes.



## Predictions for 1970

**E**CONOMICS is the perilous profession, whose leading practitioners put their forecasts on the record in hard numbers almost every year. Members of TIME's Board of Econo-

mists, who met this month with the editorial staff in Manhattan and supplied much of the material for the accompanying cover story, made the following first predictions for 1970:

	GNP (in billions)	Real Growth	Inflationary Growth	Total Growth	Unemployment Average	Peak
Otto Eckstein	\$992	1.9%	4.4%	6.3%	4.3%	4.6%
David Grove	\$981.3	.9%	4.3%	5.2%	4.4%	4.8%
Walter Heller	\$988	2%	4%	6%	4.3% to 4.5%	4.7% to 5%
Robert Nathan	\$980	1.5%	4% plus	5.5%	4.5% minus	near 5%
Joseph Pechman	\$990	2.2%	4%	6.2%	4.5%	4.8%
Arthur Okun	\$987	2%	4%	6%	4.5% minus	5% to 5.5%
Beryl Sprinkel	\$966	none	4%	4%	4.8%	6%

\*As measured by the "GNP deflator," which calculates average price increases and takes into account seasonal adjustments and other factors.

In Friedman's monetarist view of economics, the chief instrument for controlling movements of the economy is the seven-man Federal Reserve Board. For months, the board has been following a tight-money policy of unusual severity. A year ago, it began to hold back the growth of the money supply; since midyear, it has permitted no growth at all. Ironically, Friedman's principal complaint is that the Federal Reserve is overdoing the restraints in its effort to cure inflation. "If the board continues to keep the growth of money at zero for another two months, I find it hard to see how we can avoid a severe recession," he says. "The board has made the same mistake that it has made all along. It is going too far in the right direction."

Because money is so potent, he contends that the board should allow the supply to expand at a fairly constant rate of about 5% a year, in line with the long-term growth rate of the nation's production of goods and services. Last week the Federal Reserve issued some statistics that led even a few experts to conclude prematurely that it had begun to ease its tight-money policy. In reality, the board has done no such thing. It has merely followed its usual policy of permitting a slight seasonal rise to accommodate businessmen's heavy pre-Christmas buying patterns.

### Split in the Board

The board is split by a rare public debate over whether, when and by how much to expand the money supply. Last week Vice Chairman James L. Robertson called for "tighter and more painful controls" to eradicate the nation's "inflation psychosis." Such tough talk reflects a serious worry that is still shared by the majority of the board's members. They fear that even the slightest move toward easier money or lower interest rates would be misinterpreted by businessmen as a signal to get set for another jolt of inflation. In the minority at present, Board Members Sherman

Maisel and George W. Mitchell, both economists, side with Friedman in contending that the Federal Reserve has kept money scarce for so long that it has created a severe risk of recession. Though neither embraces Friedman's whole concept, they maintain that the board should pay less attention to fluctuations in the money market and more to fundamental trends. They also have been arguing since last August that unless the money managers act promptly, they will eventually have to release so much money to prop a slumping economy that inflation will begin again.

As Friedman sees it, the timing and severity of a recession will depend mainly upon how quickly Maisel and Mitchell can persuade their fellow board members to ease up on money. President

Nixon can cajole the members, but legally he cannot control the actions of the board, which is independent of the executive branch. As a practical matter, though, the board would find it difficult to resist presidential arm-twisting.

Nixon faces a dilemma. Inflation is his No. 1 domestic problem and, though it started long before he came into office, it is rapidly being identified in the public mind as "Nixon's inflation." The American people are angered and frustrated by inflation, and the polls show that an overwhelming majority criticize Nixon's handling of the persistent problem. Moreover, Nixon believes that he must stabilize the economy before the nation can effectively marshal the resources to carry through the social and environmental programs for which so many voters are clamoring.

The other side of the coin is that if Nixon pushes anti-inflationary policies too long or too hard, the result could indeed be what most economists define as a recession: at least two successive three-month periods of no real growth in the total economy, a condition that is almost sure to bring about a substantial jump in unemployment. At present, the nation might find such an experience particularly troublesome. A recession could aggravate social unrest. The jobless rates among blacks normally run twice as high as those among whites; among blacks under 25 years old, they often reach five times the overall rate.

### Overkill and Brinkmanship

Though Paul McCracken is a socially sensitive man who fully recognizes the dangers involved, he argues on behalf of the Administration that "We have no alternative but to risk over-staying with policies of restraint." Economist Gabriel Hauge, chairman of Manhattan's Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., agrees: "The nation has to run the risk of getting into a recession. We should not be afraid of overkill."

The Administration's economists admit that they are practicing brinkmanship. Anything more severe than a mild or brief recession would damage Republican chances of winning more Senate and House seats in next November's election. It will avail Nixon little polit-



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Ingenious methods to avoid piners.

ically to blame inflation on the Johnson Administration, even though Lyndon Johnson's failure to ask for higher taxes in 1966 to help meet Viet Nam costs is a major source of today's problem. Some congressional Republicans believe that Nixon will arrange to relax the money squeeze well before ballot time. But at least one of the President's most trusted advisers has counseled him to risk unpopularity in 1970 and concentrate on stopping inflation before the 1972 presidential race. Any letup now, he feels, would give Nixon a politically lethal credibility gap on the issue of inflation—a gap that could be as harmful as the public's disenchantment with Lyndon Johnson's Viet Nam policies.

Nixon's difficulties are complicated by the fact that the Republican Administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress have hit an impasse on fiscal policy. The President has trimmed \$7.5 billion from the federal budget that he inherited from Lyndon Johnson and ordered reductions in Government construction. Congress has consistently voted this fall to raise federal spending above the levels that the White House wants. Last week Nixon announced that he would impound appropriated funds, if necessary, to keep the Government from running an inflationary deficit in fiscal 1971.

The President's struggle with Congress has been greatly intensified by the fight over the tax-reform bill (see TIME NATION). It started out with some sensible and overdue reforms, but many were gutted by irresponsible actions in the Senate. The 1969 bill that the Senate passed last week is loaded with so many tax reductions—as well as a costly 15% in-

crease in social security benefits—that the President has threatened to veto it. "I intend to use all the powers of the presidency to stop the rise in the cost of living," said Nixon at a press conference shortly before the Senate acted. "If I sign the kind of bill which the Senate is about to pass, I would be reducing taxes for some of the American people and raising prices for all the American people. I will not do that."

#### How Monetary Policy Works

In dealing with the reality of inflation and the possibility of recession, Nixon so far has shown a deep reluctance to intervene in the private economy. He has rejected price guidelines, personal pressures on business and labor leaders, and outright controls. His policy coincides with Friedman's fundamental ideology—a strong aversion to Government interference—and places great emphasis on lower federal spending, as well as the monetary measures that Friedman has illuminated and popularized. Manipulation of the money supply operates indirectly on the economy, but its impact is ultimately massive and touches the lives and fortunes of nearly everyone.

The intricacies of monetary theory generally seem as mystifying as the Mock Turtle's description in *Alice in Wonderland* of "the different branches of arithmetic—Ambition, Distraction, Uglification and Derision." Money supply can be measured in four ways, but Friedman prefers to use the total of currency in circulation plus checking accounts and time deposits in banks. The Federal Reserve controls the rate at which money supply grows or shrinks chiefly by buying or selling Government

bonds. When the board buys bonds, it automatically raises the quantity of reserves available to banks; this increases the amount of credit that banks can extend to borrowers. When the board sells bonds, the process operates in reverse and borrowing tends to become difficult.

The Federal Reserve tinkers constantly with the money stock, much to the distaste of Friedman, who advocates a policy of moderate, steady expansion. For example, the board expands the supply during periods of peak demand, as it did to an extreme degree to help the Treasury finance its huge deficit in fiscal 1968. Through the same kind of maneuvering, the board tries to smooth the ups and downs of the business cycle. Friedman argues that the board's fallible members frequently misjudge how much to expand or shrink the money supply, and that their actions often exaggerate the swings of an economy that they are supposed to stabilize.

By Friedman's reckoning, history supports his argument. As he notes in his definitive work, *A Monetary History of the United States 1867-1960*, a decline in the nation's money supply has preceded every recession except one (1869-70) in the last hundred years. After World War I, for example, the Government cut its spending by an amount equal to 16% of the U.S. gross national product. On top of that, the Federal Reserve contracted the money supply by 5.2%. Says Paul McCracken: "The remarkable thing is not that there was a 1921 recession but that our economic system survived under this massive fiscal and monetary whipsaw."

Friedman blames unknowing monetary policy in large measure for the magnitude of the Depression of the



## The Consumer: Behind the Nine Ball

**I**NFLATION is no laughing matter, but the prices of so many products have risen in 1969 that some Pittsburgh newspapermen have concocted a new game based on inflationary psychology. According to them, it now takes three to tango, four's a crowd, and that favorite song of a few years back has become *Four Coins in a Fountain*. Similarly, the number 14 is bad luck, and so is four on a match. A stitch in time saves ten, cats have ten lives, two birds in the hand are worth three in the bush, a bluffer is a fiveflusher, and that soft drink should really be called Eight-Up. Life, these days, begins at 41, girls are Sweet 17 and never been kissed, and inescapably, the American consumer is behind the nine ball.

The pastime is a wry reaction to a far more serious numbers game. As fast as incomes rose, the price of necessities seemed to rise even more steeply in 1969, and few wage-earners felt that they were better off than when the year began. An inflation sampler:

**FOOD.** The Department of Labor food-price index jumped 5% from January to October. In Pittsburgh, the price of eggs almost doubled overnight from 43¢ to 83¢ per dozen. The price of pork chops in Boston increased from 99¢ to \$1.39. One shopper in Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, Mrs. Richard Davis, protested: "This can of soup had four prices on it when I bought it." The final price was 11¢ more than the first. The nickel Hershey bar vanished, and practically nobody could find a 10¢ cup of coffee.

**HOUSING.** The average cost of a home reached \$25,900 compared with \$24,200 a year ago. In San Francisco,

for example, the price of a home climbed 12% in twelve months. One survey of the Bay area disclosed that there was enough low-cost housing to provide shelter for all the area's poor—but the comparatively well-off occupants refused to move out. Taxes took an ever deeper bite. In San Francisco, for example, property taxes jumped from \$102.30 per \$1,000 valuation to \$122.90.

**MANUFACTURED GOODS.** Appliances cost more across the U.S. The price of a new car rose by an average \$107. Clothes were more expensive almost everywhere, and rose an average 10% in Boston. Men's neckties commonly went up by 50¢ or \$1—or more.

**MEDICAL CARE AND PHARMACEUTICALS.** In the year's first ten months, the price of medical care—doctors' bills, hospital services and drugs—rose by 5%. In Boston, a hospital bed could cost \$85 a day, \$10 more than last year, and the price of dental care advanced from \$6 or \$7 per filling a year ago to \$9 to \$10 today. Even aspirins were up, from 89¢ to 98¢ per 100 tablets. A mouthwash named Binaca cost 29¢ when it was introduced by a Swiss company five years ago; it has since been taken over by a U.S. firm—and now sells for 79¢ in some places.

**ENTERTAINMENT.** Movies were more expensive, up 25¢ per ticket in Manhattan's Radio City Music Hall. The cost of watching a Pittsburgh Steelers home game rose from \$6 to \$7—plus a 15¢ surcharge to help pay for a new abiding stadium, whose estimated price increased from \$32 million last spring to \$35 million at present. In the taverns of the steel city, the 15¢ beer could be found no more; it now costs 20¢.

1930s. Partly because so many banks failed between 1929 and 1933, the U.S. supply of money shrank by 33%—and that compounded a worldwide economic collapse. The Federal Reserve, which took a narrow view of its responsibilities, felt itself almost powerless to reverse the tide of events. Not really understanding what should be done, it did practically nothing to offset the contraction of the money supply.

One consequence, in Friedman's view, was that John Maynard Keynes concluded that monetary policy had only a limited impact on economic trends. That led him to underrate the money supply as an economic regulator. Friedman maintains that Keynesian economists made the same error for decades afterward—and indeed, that many still do today. In reality, Friedman argues, the Federal Reserve in the 1930s had ample power to prevent the monetary contraction. "Had the facts been as Keynes assumed them to be," Friedman has written, "I could not hold the views I do about the role of money. Had Keynes recognized that the facts were what they were, he would have had to modify his views."

Today's stubborn inflation, according to Friedman and his adherents, has been greatly magnified by Federal Reserve Board mistakes. From April 1965 to April 1966, the money supply expanded at an abnormally high 9½%-per-year rate, even though inflation was on the rise. Too late, says Friedman, the board reversed itself too emphatically, and

caused the "credit crunch" of August 1966. In 1968, the board, fearful that the tax surcharge would overburden the private economy, increased the money supply at an average annual rate of 10%—almost twice the rate that the economy could absorb without inflation. Then, a year ago, the board switched to its restrictive money policies. Six to nine months after these gyrations occur—and sometimes much later—they significantly affect the performance of the whole U.S. economy.

Friedman's fact-laden criticisms of the Federal Reserve have considerably undermined its once sacrosanct standing as the arbiter of U.S. monetary affairs. Mindful of his formulations, the Congressional Joint Economic Committee has been pressuring the board to expand money supply at a rate of between 2% and 6% a year. The board has refused to go that far, but it has begun providing the committee with quarterly reports explaining its money-supply maneuvers.

### Dazzling Variety of Ideas

Friedman's controversial opinions range far beyond his evaluation of the Federal Reserve. He propagates them tirelessly in books, in classrooms, in testimony before congressional committees, in private chats with policymakers, and in a triweekly column for *Newsweek*. Last week he left his Vermont mountaintop retreat, where he customarily spends about half his time studying and writing, for a rapid round of evan-

gelistic appearances. He flew to Washington to meet with a Nixon commission that is studying plans for a U.S. shift to an all-volunteer Army. Later he made a speech in Manhattan, then went to Boston. Dressed in a baggy brown suit and well-worn shoes, Friedman met for lunch with 20 impeccably tailored mutual-fund advisers and entertained them with unexpected quips and sallies. Later he spent two hours answering questions from some 50 Harvard and Radcliffe students who, unhappy with the schools' accent on Keynesian precepts, have recently formed the Association for the Study of Friedman Economic Doctrines, or "the Milton Friedman Fan Club."

A truly original thinker, Friedman is the author of a dazzling variety of ideas about how nations should cope with myriad matters of public policy. On the question of the international monetary system, Friedman for nearly two decades has been urging the adoption of freely moving exchange rates instead of fixed rates. Now, after a series of monetary crises and devaluations, central bankers in the U.S. and abroad are giving serious study to a modified form of the idea. As early as 1942, Friedman began advocating a negative income tax as a substitute for the nation's demeaning and generally ineffective welfare system. The Nixon Administration this year asked Congress to provide a minimum income for every American, though not quite in the way that he advocates. Friedman would abolish most other types of aid to the poor and substitute the in-

come guarantee. It would provide direct cash grants that poverty-level families could spend any way they pleased. He argues that most current programs to help the poor either wind up aiding the better-off instead or place humiliating restrictions on what the poor can do with the money they get.

Friedman has a big recipe for economic reform, and he calls for an end to many politically sacred Government programs. A sampling of his ideas:

**FOOD STAMPS.** "There is nothing you can do with stamps that you cannot do better by giving people money. The real drive behind food stamps is not to help the poor; it's to dispose of farm surpluses." Friedman calls the farm-subsidy program, which piles up huge surpluses in grain elevators, "a free-lunch program for mice and rats."

**PUBLIC HOUSING.** "It was instituted in the 1930s to improve the housing of the poor, give the poor a sense of pride, and reduce juvenile delinquency. The effect, in each case, has been exactly the opposite. Public housing is a total failure. The major beneficiaries are the people who sell their property for housing projects. Some of the poor benefit, but at the expense of other poor people, who are forced to vacate bad housing and occupy worse."

**SOCIAL SECURITY.** "It is a means of taxing the poor for the benefit of the rich. If you are poor, you start to work earlier in life, yet your life expectancy is shorter, and if you work after 65, you get less benefits. High-income people come off better. If you have property, you get the benefit of this, plus social security. The system redistributes income from the young (rich or poor) to the old (rich or poor). I think we ought to help the poor indiscriminately."

**GOVERNMENT PRIVILEGES.** "All over the world, the predominant source of great increases in private fortunes over the past several decades has been Government privileges." For example, the issuance of radio-TV licenses is "an enormous giveaway of valuable capital sums to individuals who are not low-income people." Friedman also holds that the Federal Communications Commission should auction TV channels to the highest bidder and thereafter stay out of the picture.

**INFLATION.** Friedman challenges the popular theory that full employment and price stability are incompatible. "The belief, like most of those propositions that get widely accepted, is a half-truth," he argues. The two goals conflict over brief periods when an economy is shifting from one rate of inflation to another, he concedes. But over any period of five, ten or 20 years, says Friedman, fast economic growth and full employment can be meshed with stable prices.

That reassuring thesis may be difficult for some inflation fighters to accept, because 1969 has been such a frustrating year. Repeatedly, Administration leaders have announced that, as



BURNS



MARTIN



MCCRACKEN

The deadline has faded.

Nixon said on Oct. 17, "we are on the road to recovery from runaway prices." Paul McCracken's original year-end deadline for arresting the price trend faded quietly into oblivion. "We underestimated the inflationary expectations," says Under Secretary of the Treasury Charles Walker. "They were deeply ingrained. We didn't expect that it would be so tough."

#### Evading the Squeeze

Tight money might have reduced inflation faster if big banks had not discovered ingenious methods of avoiding the Federal Reserve's pincers. To help meet corporations' vast appetites for loans in the face of the credit shortage, U.S. banks borrowed \$13.3 billion in Eurodollars—U.S. dollars in private hands abroad—and brought them home. The board finally closed that loophole by imposing a 10% reserve requirement on borrowed Eurodollars. Thereafter, the banks circumvented restraint by issuing vast quantities of commercial paper—unsecured promissory notes. Relatedly, the Reserve Board plugged that loophole by placing an interest-rate ceiling on commercial paper. Now, big Manhattan banks have found still another gap in the Federal Reserve's regulations: To raise funds for domestic loans, they have begun selling large-denomination certificates of deposit to foreign central banks, which have plenty of U.S. dollars.

Some of the loopholes were deliberately allowed to stay open, authorities admit. Federal Reserve officials feared that if they had closed every gap in the regulations, some banks might have failed. In a banking system based on confidence, that might have touched off a financial panic, something that the Federal Reserve is sworn to prevent. Still, Board Chairman Bill Martin admitted to Congress that the "safety valve" had become "an escape hatch through which restraints are being avoided." The banks also flooded the country with new credit cards, which stimulated consumer spending and certainly did not reduce inflationary pressures.

#### Where the Economy Stands

Businessmen are still borrowing expansively and betting on continued inflation. They figure that demand will remain high, and so they had better build plants and buy equipment now instead of waiting until prices go up still further. Despite dwindling profits, scarce credit and excess capacity, the Government's latest survey shows that businessmen plan an 11% increase to \$71 billion in their investment for plant and equipment next year. Capital spending has been an important force behind inflation in recent months, and such an increase would add greatly to price pressures.

Still, economists generally agree that the economy now shows plenty of signs of losing momentum. As interest rates

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## The Intellectual Provocateur

**R**EACTION to his ideas, says Milton Friedman, follows "a certain scenario." Act I: "The views of crackpots like myself are avoided." Act II: "The defenders of the orthodox faith become uncomfortable because the ideas seem to have an element of truth." Act III: "People say, 'We all know that this is an impractical and theoretically extreme view—but of course we have to look at more moderate ways to move in this direction.'" Act IV: Opponents "convert my ideas into untenable caricatures so that they can move over and occupy the ground where I formerly stood."

That statement sums up Friedman. He is the rare theorist whose influence is best measured not by the devotion of his followers—though that can be extreme—but by the extent to which his ideas have altered the thinking of his opponents. The mixture of supreme self-confidence and good-humored needling expresses the personality that makes some of Friedman's sharpest critics consider themselves close personal friends. One admirer, Labor Secretary George Shultz, quotes a former colleague at the University of Chicago as saying: "I wish I were as sure of anything as Milton is about everything."

Friedman is a man totally devoted to ideas—isolating them in pure form, expressing them in uncompromising terms and following them wherever they may lead. His basic philosophy is simple and unoriginal: personal freedom is the supreme good—in economic, political and social relations. What is unusual is his consistency in applying this principle to any and all problems, regardless of whom he dismays or pleases, and even regardless of the practical difficulties of putting it into effect. He alternately delights and infuriates conservatives. New Left radicals and almost every group in the crowded middle road.

His son David, 24, calls him a "libertarian anarchist" who even raised his children by free-market rules. Friedman once offered David, then ten, and his older sister Janet a choice of Pullman berths for a cross-country train trip, or the extra price of those berths in cash. The children chose to sit up in coaches for two days and take the cash.

Faith in the free market has caused Friedman to condemn many Establishment institutions as monopolies. His targets include the New York Stock Exchange—in his view, a brokers' commission-fixing cartel—and the public-school system. He contends that the Government should issue vouchers that parents could cash at any school they choose for their children. This, he says, would encourage the founding of independent schools to compete with pub-

lic schools, particularly "in the ghettos where schooling now available is extremely unsatisfactory." He believes that men who work as leaders in the free market should devote their full energies and intellect toward helping it function better, and that they should be unencumbered by outside considerations. Friedman once wrote: "Few trends could so thoroughly undermine the very foundations of our free society as the acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make as much money for their stockholders as possible."

Most forms of Government activity, Friedman holds, infringe on somebody's liberty. For example, he opposes restrictions on cigarette advertising, which the Senate voted last week to ban from TV and radio after 1970. He thinks that the individual should decide for



THE FRIEDMANS AT HOME IN VERMONT

himself whether to choose the pleasure of smoking over the chance of a longer life: his own decision was to give up smoking a dozen years ago. The draft, in his view, is an intolerable form of compulsion. To the applause of the New Left, he has called for an all-volunteer army—not after the Viet Nam War ends, as President Nixon now proposes, but "yesterday."

Friedman has achieved his status as an intellectual provocateur by sheer force of mind. His parents were immigrants from Ruthenia, a corner of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that is now largely part of the U.S.S.R. He sometimes speculates that if Franz Joseph had instituted a minimum-wage law, his family might have stayed put and he would be a Soviet citizen. In fact, he was born in Brooklyn and grew up on the border of poverty in Rahway, N.J. A scholarship paid his tuition at Rutgers (\$300 a year). After graduating in 1932, he held a variety of teaching and research jobs in economics and mathematics, which inten-

sified his talent for abstract thought. As a visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin in 1940-41, he so impressed a graduate assistant named Walter W. Heller that Heller led an unsuccessful campaign by a group of students to persuade the university to hire him permanently. Heller, now a frequent opponent of Friedman in debates, remains a great admirer of his technical competence.

Friedman's life is lived largely on the lecture platform and in the classrooms at the University of Chicago. His biography consists mostly of the titles of the 14 books that he has written or co-authored: his wife Rose, an economist herself, is his editor. For all his love of books and ideas, however, he will drop everything to visit the circus, his secret passion. He also exercises his analytic faculties by building things with his hands—including a color TV set that he put together last summer from a kit. Despite his highly organized mind, he is not able to keep a clean desk. David Friedman says that his father got his papers in order only once, when he spread them out over the entire surface of a pingpong table. The young man views his father as a "full-time intellectual" whose major enjoyment comes from debate. Says David: "I was brought up with the feeling that the normal way of conversation was to argue with people."

When he argues or lectures, Friedman can be quite engaging, using professorial wit to win over his audience. His appearance heightens the academic impression: his short frame, bald head and crooked smile give him a gnomish look. His humor relies on economic in-jokes and crooked pauses before startling conclusions. For example, Monetary Champion Friedman told his Harvard fan club last week: "I believe that fiscal policy is very important [long pause]—but not in its effect on inflation." That cracked up the fan club.

M.I.T.'s Paul Samuelson, a leading Keynesian economist, has complained that Friedman's students are "brainwashed" because they cannot stand up to their teacher in classroom discussion. But nobody questions Friedman's popularity on the campus; in addition to his 30 regular students, another 100 drop in to his classes to listen. Some of Friedman's followers do take too literally the ideas that Friedman states in extreme form partly for shock value. "That is an effective device to get people's attention," Friedman admits. It also adds zest to economic dialogue. Samuelson says: "To keep the fish that they carried on long journeys lively and fresh, sea captains used to introduce an eel into the barrel. In the economic profession, Milton Friedman is that eel."



climbed to the highest peak in more than a century, housing starts fell sharply and the bond markets approached collapse. Banks, the principal buyers of municipal bonds, were short of funds and shying away from 20-year and 30-year securities with a fixed rate of return. Industrial production has slipped, and personal income is now rising at a rate of only 1.3% a year.

Yet prices, which often continue rising long after general business turns soft, have continued to climb. They are rising faster than wages—and wages are rising faster than workers' productivity. When productivity slackens, real labor costs go up, and companies often make up the difference by increasing the prices of their products. The cost of living rose 5.9% this year and has gone up by 20% since 1964. The dollar of that year is worth only 84¢ today.

The stock market, a leading indicator that often foretells the economy's performance in months to come, shuddered through a disastrous year. The Dow-Jones industrial average dropped 19%, from a May high of 969 to a December low under 784. The conglomerates took a beating: I.T.V. and Gulf and Western dropped more than 50% from their year's highs. Among the blue chips, strike-troubled General Electric has sunk to 79 from a historic high of 120 in 1965. California Standard to 49 from a high of 86 in 1966. Allied Chemical to 24 from 66 in 1961. Du Pont to 105 from 260 in 1965, and U.S. Steel to 34 from 108 in 1959.

#### An Inflationary Recession

Investors were depressed by the fading of the unrealistic Viet Nam peace hopes that they had held in the spring, and more recently by warnings of a forthcoming economic decline. The worst depressant in the market undoubtedly has been tight money. The market frequently falls before recessions and rises when they occur: thus a 1970 recession would not necessarily make stock prices fall further. But it will be hard for stocks to rally briskly until credit is eased. Economists generally expect that interest rates will taper off slightly—perhaps by 1% or a bit more—as production and demand slacken in the year ahead, but that they will stay fairly close to their historic highs for as far ahead as anyone can see.

Friedman and some other forecasters believe that the U.S. next year will go through an "inflationary recession." There is almost no way that the U.S. can avoid simultaneous increases in both prices and unemployment; the question is just how bad those rises will be. "Never has a U.S. inflation of the present intensity—5% to 6% a year—been controlled without a recession," says Economist Beryl Sprinkel, senior vice president of Chicago's Harris Trust and Savings Bank. Henry Kaufman, partner in the Manhattan investment firm of Salomon Bros. and Hutzler, expects "a mild but sustained recession." He fore-

sees a 15% to 20% drop in corporate profits.

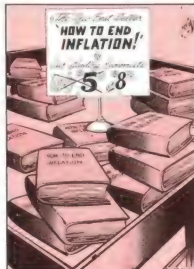
The rising fears of recession show that the Administration is at last making headway in its difficult fight against inflationary psychology. All year, Nixon's economic lieutenants have been trying to create a degree of uncertainty in the minds of businessmen, labor and consumers about the prospect for continued prosperity. Many experts find the present outlook no cause for alarm. Arthur Okun, the former head of the Council of Economic Advisers, calls the chance of either a recession or a continued boom "a long shot." By his handicapping, the Government stands a 50% chance of bringing the inflation rate down to about 4% without causing a politically unacceptable rise in unemployment. Still, Okun insists—as do the other members of TIME's Board of Econ-

flation, recession and the need to end the Viet Nam War, the most talked-about subject among high executives is what role the corporation can play in reversing the decline of cities, building housing for the poor, finding and training blacks for jobs. Walter A. Haas Jr., president of San Francisco's Levi Strauss & Co., believes that industry's first big task is to put an end to polluting the environment. "We are debauching the country," he says. Meeting such new goals will plainly require some extraordinary changes of attitudes among both businessmen and politicians. At the extreme, business may have to renounce its allegiance to all-out economic growth in order to halt the chemical and bacterial poisoning of air, land and waters. During the 1970s, the nation may also face a chronic shortage of capital to finance its seemingly boundless appetite for roads, airports, schools and many other projects. Continued inflation would disrupt the delicate mechanism through which most of the capital must be generated. Recession would force the U.S. to reallocate its resources to alleviate personal hardships.

#### Recipes for Reform

If the nation's resources are to cover its future needs, Government, business and labor will have to abandon many of their inflationary programs and practices. The Nixon Administration this year began a joint Government-business-labor effort to avoid work stoppages, end restrictive practices and reduce price increases in construction, the nation's most flagrantly inflation-ridden industry. The highly inflated costs of medical care could be brought down if a powerful union—the American Medical Association—would permit less highly trained "paramedical" workers to perform simple functions like applying bandages and giving injections. Federal purchases could be more adroitly timed to take advantage of favorable prices. Government regulatory agencies might abolish minimum rates for freight shipments and other transportation, and permit competition to take over again. Oil-import quotas, which cost gasoline consumers at least \$4 billion a year, could be revised or scrapped. Fair-trade laws, which place floors under the prices of some goods, might also be repealed. These are the sort of moves that economists as far apart as Walter Heller and Milton Friedman agree should be made.

Friedman deprecates the role of his rhetoric in winning acceptance for his ideas. "People are persuaded by the evidence of experience," he says. As for his own role, he adds: "all one can hope to do is move things in the direction they ought to go. I try to be specific about the ideal and not worry too much about what at the moment is realistic." By following that precept, Milton Friedman has done much to revive faith in the competitive market and to change the theories by which nations guide their commercial destinies.



omists—that it is high time the Federal Reserve eased its monetary brakes.

Economists tend to agree on the business profile for 1970: a rise in jobless ranks to 4½% or 4½% of the labor force; 4% price inflation, probably tapering off toward year's end; sluggish 2% real growth in the over-all economy, which will expand from \$933 billion to \$985 billion or \$990 billion. A few sectors of business anticipate substantial difficulties. Auto manufacturers (except Ford) have already curtailed production a bit, and some retail merchants figure that they will have to hustle to maintain their sales volume. "The consumer is beginning to stiffen up," says Ralph Lazarus, chairman of front-ranking Federated Department Stores. "We expect that after Christmas he will become a tough buyer, more value-conscious than in a long time."

In the decade that opens next month, thoughtful business leaders realize they face responsibilities that go beyond the traditional definition of business, and they seem ready to do more than merely pay lip service to them. Next to in-

# Three million State Farm policyholders speak out on the subject of car insurance.

## **People are asking questions.**

Why do car insurance companies cancel policies? Why can't everybody who has a driver's license get car insurance? Why does it take so long for car insurance claims to be settled? Why do rates keep going up? Car insurance has become one of today's most widely debated subjects. It affects every responsible citizen who owns a car. At the same time, few other businesses are affected more profoundly by the society in which they operate.

On the following pages you'll see how the major social problems of the day have a direct effect on the car insurance business. And you'll learn how three million State Farm policyholders feel about some of the major questions affecting their car insurance.

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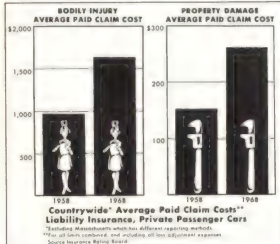
### The problem of alcohol.

Of the more than 55,000 U.S. traffic deaths each year, over half involve alcohol. Added to the staggering death toll is the fact that drunk drivers account for approximately 800,000 injuries each year. It should be pointed out that the problem is not so much the social drinker, but a small minority of alcoholics and other problem drinkers. Alcohol and driving—a major social problem and a major influence on the car insurance business.

### Licensed drivers who shouldn't be.

It seems incredible, but in something like twenty-seven states, you can simply renew your driver's license by mail. Even if you've gone partially blind. Assuring that every licensed driver is mentally and physically qualified to drive is a job for the states. The extent to which the job is inadequately done is reflected dramatically in the car insurance industry.

### The rising cost of things insurance pays for.



Your car insurance pays for a lot of different things, and each of the things your car insurance pays for has been affected by inflation. Auto repairs costs, for instance, have soared. So have average payments for bodily injury claims because of rising hospital and medical costs.

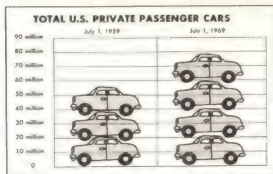
### Our young people.

Today, they enjoy more freedom and own more cars—facts which are expressed tragically in the rising traffic death and injury toll of youthful drivers, their innocent victims, and in turn, in the car insurance problem.

The list of social problems could go on and on. But the point is clear. What is commonly referred to as "the car insurance problem," in reality, only labels a common point at which a host of other problems come together.

### The automobile population explosion.

Every week approximately 50,000 cars are added to our streets and highways. More cars, traveling more miles at higher speeds mean more accidents. And while cars are more expensive today than they used



Source: Mail and State Farm estimates

to be, they are not necessarily more rugged. In fact, evidence exists which suggests that today's cars are more easily damaged. So not only do we have more accidents, we have more expensive accidents.

### How rates are established.

All of the states have regulatory officials to determine that rates charged by individual companies are neither excessive, inadequate, nor unfairly discriminatory. But free competition among car insurance companies is the best regulator of rates. And more and more states are going to that system.

Some companies use rates set by "rating bureaus." Others, like State Farm, set their own rates. In any case, rates are set by first dividing policyholders into homogeneous groups. Rates for each group are based on the likelihood of drivers within that group to have an accident. Age, sex, use of car (for business or pleasure), marital status and geographical locations are the major considerations used by most companies to determine into which group an individual driver is placed. This classification system is used to assure that drivers who are less likely to have an accident will not have to subsidize drivers who are more likely to have an accident.

### The present legal system.

Car insurance companies today do business under a system based on the Anglo-American common law which holds people responsible for damage they cause to the property of others. If you are involved in an auto accident and are found to be at fault, you and/or your insurance company must pay for the damages. Determining who is at fault is a legal matter.

Lawyers refer to this system as the "tort-liability" system and it applies not only to car insurance, but to most other areas where one citizen or his property is damaged by another. So, while the car insurance companies did not develop this long-standing legal system, it is the law. We operate under it.

### What the critics are saying.

The critics of the way in which car insurance companies do business have become increasingly vocal. Some claim that insurance rates for young people, old people and certain other special groups have skyrocketed beyond the policyholders' ability to pay.

That insurance companies have become overly selective as to whom they will insure.

That insurance companies have been too tough about imposing extra charges on people who belong

in high risk categories or who have been involved in minor accidents.

They claim that some accident victims are paid too much, while others are paid too little.

That insurance companies are not providing car insurance for everybody.

### Are changes needed?

The present car insurance system does have problems, as would any system that is influenced by so many different factors. Many alternatives to the present system have been proposed. And all of these suggestions are being studied by insurance companies, trade associations, and Federal and State governments.

But the group that must live with whatever system or change is adopted is the driving public. And before we at State Farm suggest or support any specific proposals, we feel that we must know the opinions of our policyholders on the major issues concerning their car insurance. We believe that any changes in the present system, or any new system, will survive only if such changes are consistent with the needs and expectations of the driving public.

### 3,000,000 policyholders voice their opinions.

A few months ago, the management of State Farm Mutual decided that rather than speculate as to what our policyholders want, we would ask them some questions on major issues. In what may well be the most massive public opinion poll ever undertaken by private industry, we issued questionnaires like the one below to all of our auto insurance policyholders. The response was overwhelming. Our extensive data processing facilities have tabulated the responses of 3,090,315 State Farm policyholders. The replies have come from both men and women, in every age group, every geographic location, every insurance classification.

The figures to the right of the questionnaire show how each question was answered.

### Rates should vary.

As you can see, 92% (or 2,643,169 respondents) feel that it would be unfair for everyone to pay the same price for car insurance. 90% feel that people who are more likely to have accidents should pay more. And 97% say that the cost of car insurance should depend on your driving record.

However, 63% disagree that rates should depend on a person's age.

70% agree that car insurance companies should have the right to refuse insurance to some people.

### Driver licensing standards should be stiffer. Drunk drivers should be more severely punished.

More than 2,444,211 (86%) say that drivers licensing standards should be made stiffer to keep bad drivers off the highway. 88% feel the number of fatal accidents would go way down if those people who drive after drinking were more severely punished.

### Should accident victims be paid for "pain and suffering"? Opinion divided.

72% of those responding feel that people hurt in a car accident should be able to receive money for their medical and hospital expenses and for their pain and suffering. But 50% would agree to eliminate pain and suffering payments if such elimination would lower the cost of car insurance.

77% feel that people having more than one policy covering medical bills should be able to collect up to the full amount from each of them.

### The driver at fault should pay.

In 2,669,034 of the responses, or 94% of the total responses, our policyholders feel that the driver who causes an accident, or his insurance company, should pay for the losses of other people in the accident. This is the basic principle of the present legal system. The notion that "who causes the accident" should have nothing to do with who should pay for the losses of other people seems unacceptable to the vast majority of respondents.

**Note: Some respondents did not answer every question. Therefore, each number and percentage above applies to the total number of responses to the question being discussed.**

As the world's largest car insurer, our chief interest is to provide the kind of car insurance our policyholders need and expect, at the lowest possible cost. Because of this belief, we rejected the idea of a small sample opinion poll in favor of giving each one of our policyholders a chance to express his own feelings. We appreciate their cooperation and thank them for taking the time and trouble to study and answer these challenging questions. And we hope their answers will be useful to the various groups and individuals who are studying the car insurance industry.

1. It would be unfair for everyone to pay the same price for car insurance.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	92%	8%
2. People who are more likely to have accidents should pay more for car insurance.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	90%	10%
3. The cost of car insurance should be lower or higher, depending on a person's driving record.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	97%	3%
4. The cost of car insurance should be lower or higher depending on a person's age.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	37%	63%
5. Driver licensing standards should be made stiffer to keep bad drivers off the highway.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	86%	14%
6. The number of fatal accidents would go way down if those people who drive after drinking were more severely punished.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	88%	12%
7. Car insurance companies should have the right to refuse to insure some people.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	70%	30%
8. People hurt in a car accident should be able to receive money for their medical and hospital expenses, and for their pain and suffering.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	72%	28%
9. People hurt in a car accident should be paid only for their medical, hospital bills, and car expenses, if this would lower insurance prices.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	50%	50%
10. People who have more than one policy covering their medical bills should be able to collect up to the full amount from each of them.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	77%	23%
11. The driver who causes an accident, or his insurance company, should pay for the losses of the other people in the accident.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	94%	6%
12. "Who causes the accident" should have nothing to do with who should pay for the losses of other people in the accident.	AGREE ■	DISAGREE ■	11%	89%



**State Farm Mutual**  
AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE CO.  
HOME OFFICE, BLOOMINGTON, IL

## CINEMA

### Marathon '32

The mirrored chandelier whirls, the trio blares *Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?*, and the master of ceremonies booms, "Yow-sah, yow-sah, yow-sah." The place is the Aragon Ballroom in Los Angeles, the time is the Depression, and the event is an extravagance of sadomasochism known as the Marathon Dance.

*They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* is a strenuous attempt to make that marathon a metaphor for man's fate. The contestants are the populace of a wasted nation. One girl, Ruby (Bonnie Bedelia), is pregnant. Gloria (Jane Fonda) is a brassbound bitch from the Dust Bowl. Robert (Michael Sarrazin) is an open-faced kid from a farm. Sailor (Red Buttons) is a Navy veteran whose ship has gone out. The man running the marathon—and carrying the movie—is a director-store Burnum named Rocky (Gig Young). The son of an itinerant faith healer, Rocky has read the book on corruption and added footnotes of his own. Disgusted at what people—including himself—will do for money, he articulates the film's message: "There can only be one winner, folks, but isn't that the American way?"

*Carrying a Corpse.* Ironies like that are easy to manufacture, and Screenwriters James Poe and Robert E. Thompson operate an assembly line. Ruby tunelessly chants *The Best Things in Life Are Free*, then crawls for the pennies people throw her way. A Harlow-eyed blonde (Susannah York) is in the contest not for the \$1,500 prize, but for a chance to be seen by a movie talent scout who might elevate her to hearable unreality. When the marathon be-

gins to drag, Rocky dresses the participants in track suits and has them race around the floor—an event that literally causes the ancient mariner's heart to break.

At this melodramatic point, the film achieves its peak. Sailor's face empurples, his lips work and bubble, his body goes limp. "Walk, you son of a bitch, walk!" screams Gloria, carrying a corpse on her back, defying Rocky, circumstances, the Depression—and finally life itself in a racking finish that leaves the spectator as weary, and in a sense, as degraded as the participants. But it is precisely because of Gloria's inexhaustible drive that the film huckles. The dancers stay up for more than a thousand hours. The hall becomes a human zoo where legs, spines and, finally, minds fail. Rocky extends a typically cynical offer: Why don't Gloria and her new partner Robert get married out there on the floor? They can get divorced afterward, can't they? After all, warns the M.C., "I may not know a winner when I see one, but I sure know a loser."

Gloria arbitrarily accepts Rocky's put-down as her epitaph. Out on the boardwalk and out of the marathon, she aims a pistol at her temple. Then, for the first time, her temerity falters. "Help me," she begs. Robert, and Robert obligingly turns the attempted suicide into a murder. The farm boy's explanation to the police: "They shoot horses, don't they?" Yes, they do—but only when the animal is broken. As Fonda plays the part, Gloria is a born survivor, a cork of a woman who would hob to the surface of a sewer or an ocean.

Devoid of motivation and imprisoned in the dance hall, the movie hungers

for some message from the outside world. The contestants are soon reduced to figures without a landscape, whose despair is often expressed but seldom reasoned. Even Director Sydney Pollack seems to sense the claustrophobic atmosphere—and he restively punctuates the non-happenings with slow-motion scenes and rapid flash-forwards. Seldom effective and much too mannered, they serve only to bring the wrong kind of poetry to the project.

Still, as a footnote to American history, *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* is invaluable. The entire cast—particularly Young and Fonda—understands the era when existence seemed one long bread line. The penciled eyebrows, marcelled coiffures and bright, hopeful faces change by degrees into ghastly masks; the bodies seem to pull against a gravity that wants them six feet underground. The music goes round and round, and so do the actors, in a convulsing dance of death. It is a pity that the picture is not left to them. The film makers should have known better than to cling to unidimensional symbolism and stylistic conceits. They shoot movies, don't they?

### The Exiles

During the dry desert autumn of 1909, a troublesome Paiute Indian named Willie shot the father of the Indian girl he wanted to marry. Willie was not a criminal according to Paiute custom: under tribal law, the theft of a girl constituted marriage. What followed, however, had nothing at all to do with custom.

Willie and the girl, Lolita, lit out for the Mohave Desert. He could normally have hidden on tiny reservations until the trouble blew over, since Indian killing was a matter of little concern to the white community. But at that time, it happened that President Taft was making a cross-country tour, followed by a bored and weary press corps looking for a story to break the whistle-stop monotony. They found what they wanted in Riverside, Calif.

Once the newspapers published their first dispatches about Willie and Lolita, rumors spread of a full-scale Indian uprising. It was said that Willie was out to assassinate the President. Someone dubbed him "the mad dog of the Morongos"—and he was hunted like one. Willie covered almost 500 miles on foot, through the Morongo Valley, past Surprise Springs and Deadman's Dry Lake, until he was finally cornered on Ruby Mountain. Earlier, he had shot the girl to keep her from getting caught. On the mountain, he challenged a sure-shooting lawman with an empty rifle, a gesture that amounted to suicide.

*Man Alone.* This extraordinary historical footnote has been refined and condensed into a hard, gritty new movie called *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here*. Writer-Director Abraham Polonsky makes good use of all the obvious contemporary parallels but deliberately holds them in check. The result is a sub-



FONDA AND SARRAZIN IN "HORSES"  
Figures without a landscape.





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tle, intense document of racial persecution that stands as one of the finest films of the year.

As Polonsky has conceived of Willie—and as Robert Blake plays him with cold command—he is a symbol of Hemingway's maxim in *To Have and Have Not*: "A man alone ain't got no bloody chance." Willie has even less than no chance. "I'm only an Indian," he tells his girl (Katharine Ross), "and no one cares what Indians do."

The only characters in this despairing vision who are allowed even a trace of self are a Radcliffe-educated Indian agent (Susan Clark) and the sheriff (Robert Redford) who heads the posse that hunts Willie. But the agent's social concern is only a manifestation of her neuroticism, and the sheriff's primitive feelings of empathy with the fleeing Indian are overcome by ingrained habit.

Polonsky's talents were marked and sharpened by the rhetoric of Depression politics. The result is that, on occasion, his script blows its otherwise immaculate cool—as when a poolroom tough delivers one of those drunken "I'll-tell-you-what-democracy-is" speeches. Although Redford and Clark are both excellent in their roles, Katharine Ross offers a major challenge to credibility as Willie's Indian girl, called Lola in the film. She looks little like an Indian and is obviously too refined to act like one.

**Dead Anyway.** The movie is well served by the shimmering, bleached-out color photography of Conrad Hall. It is obvious from the opening scenes, however, that this is most deeply Director Polonsky's picture. Author of the remarkable script for *Body and Soul* ("Everybody dies!"), Polonsky made his directorial debut with another John Garfield movie, *Force of Evil*, in 1948. An ode to gangsterism and individual morality, it passed almost unnoticed on initial release. As a lifelong proponent of the sort of radical politics frowned upon during the witch hunts of the 1940s, Polonsky did not long escape the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Bludgeoned by the Hollywood blacklist, Polonsky did not work under his own name again for almost 20 years. Polonsky, now 59, kept alive by writing TV scripts under pseudonyms and accepting an occasional anonymous movie rewrite *Willie Boy* is only the second film he has directed, and he feels that it sums up his own years of loneliness. "Hell," he says, "This isn't a movie about Indians. It's about me."

## New Pillow Talk

What shocks one epoch may fascinate another. And here a third. Ten years ago, Rock Hudson pursued Doris Day across what seemed to be miles of snowy sheets. Doris retained her maidenhood beyond the final fadeout (and for many pictures thereafter), but the shrewdly timed movie passed for daring and became one of the biggest box-office hits of 1959.

Professional virginity has had its Day;

in cinema, the current trend is toward making it. This year's version of *Pillow Talk* is *John and Mary*, a Now movie that dares to open with its leading players (Dustin Hoffman and Mia Farrow) together in bed. Director Peter Yates (*Bullitt*) ruffles through flash cards of identity, exhibiting the fun couple nude and clothed, before, after and during the New York-based affair. Mary, it turns out, has been grooving with a married politician. John seems the sort of clumping, turtle-nosed customer who could not seduce a girl in a brothel. Such appearances, however, are deceiving; he too is a successful swinger pursued by one bird while he chases another. Not until J. & M. have known each other in the biblical sense do they know each other in the classical one. At the finale, they exchange names for



FARROW & HOFFMAN IN "JOHN & MARY"

A period longing to be an exclamation point.

the first time—reason enough, the film implies, to show they have found love.

Director Yates knows how to shape even the sketchiest scenario, and if *John and Mary* is no deeper than an eggshell, it is every bit as functionally designed. Mia Farrow adds an otherworldliness to her character by reciting her lines as if they were cabala. Hoffman, one of the shrewdest young actors in the business, manages to be at once predator and victim. But when the film tries to make the audience care for the characters, it proves bankrupt. For beneath the Manhattan chatter and the glossy confrontations, *John and Mary* is as empty as a singles bar on Monday morning. Leaning on the stars' reputations, it never bothers to show who the lovers are, or how they got to be that way.

Such faults should not inhibit the film's success. Like *Pillow Talk*, it catches two attractive actors rising beyond competition and criticism. With proper management, Dustin could pursue—and catch—Mia all through the '70s. By that time, audiences, and maybe even movies, may have matured.

## Late Bloomer

*Cactus Flower* answers one of the less pressing but more engaging questions facing America today: Can *Laugh-In*'s Goldie Hawn really act? Yes, she can, and so can Walter Matthau and Ingrid Bergman. With that kind of cast, a Sears, Roebuck catalogue could serve as a script, and *Cactus Flower* is far more than that. Director Gene Saks is no Billy Wilder, but Wilder's collaborator I.A.L. Diamond (*Some Like It Hot*, *The Apartment*) is still I.A.L. Diamond, and he knows funny lines when he writes them. Ornamenting Abe Burrows' stage hit (itself an adaptation of a French farce), Diamond outfits his confident east with a situation as pretested as a lunar mission.

In New York, a bachelor dentist



HAWN & MATTHAU IN "FLOWER"

named Julian Winston (Walter Matthau) enjoys the benefits of a towheaded gamine, Toni Simmons (Goldie Hawn). How can he elude the marriage trap? Simple: by telling Toni that he is already bridled with a wife and saddled with three children. Suspicious, the mistress demands to see the wife. Winston persuades his spinster nurse, Stephanie Dickinson (Ingrid Bergman), to pose as Mrs. Dentist. Byzantine complications add a flush to Stephanie's sallow countenance, but the complications are purely formal. Once Bergman zeroes in on a male lead, the light comedienne should pack her gags and go home.

Matthau maintains the posture of a question mark and the consummate frustration of a period that longs to be an exclamation point. Goldie is a natural reactress; her timing is so canny that even her tears run amusingly. In recent years Broadway comedies have not survived translation into film. Although unpretentious, *Cactus Flower* succeeds on screen, thanks to two old masters—and a shiny new one—who have learned that actors get known by the comedy they keep.

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## BOOKS

### Rites of Passage

RETROSPECTIVES AND CONCLUSIONS  
by Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft. 350  
pages. Knopf. \$7.95.

According to Robert Craft, Igor Stravinsky's recording angel, *Retrospectives and Conclusions* is the last in the series of "diary books" that began in 1959. Together, these collections of interviews, essays on music and reviews make up an extraordinary loose-leaf monument to the 20th century's leading composer. Professionally speaking, Stravinsky has always been brilliant but balling. A fierce and uncompromising pioneer who quite literally revolutionized the music of his century, he was also as modestly conscious of musical fashions as Picasso was addicted to changing taste in art and sculpture. Craft has made Stravinsky's one of the best-documented lives since Beethoven's, and his book, music aside, presents some of the most lively and intelligent casual reading available.

The series was born out of complementary needs: Stravinsky's need to get his opinions and perceptions on paper, and Craft's need to nourish his own identity—as a conductor and writer—at the cornucopia of genius.

Like Stravinsky's own music, *Retrospectives* resists categorization. To the extent that Craft reconstructs Stravinsky's comments from memory and then has the maestro edit them, much of the diary books resembles a collaborative nonfiction novel or a Platonic dialogue. In his own diary entries, Craft combines the elements of a good travel book and restaurant guide with the sensitivity of personal journalism and the instincts of a gossip columnist.

**Backward Wasp.** Not the least memorable things are the trivia: W. H. Auden crying because he had been given an unsuitable hotel room in Venice, T. S. Eliot dispensing such convivial criticism as "Ezra [Pound] is becoming the best Chinese poet in English"; a dinner for Stravinsky at which the most impressive thing on the table was the besotted head of the guest of honor.

Above all, the book is the story of Craft's love for Stravinsky and his wife Vera. The three have been constant companions for 21 years. Craft, who is 46 and describes himself as "a backward WASP from Kingston, N.Y.," still finds it difficult to understand that he is plugged into what he believes is "the most interesting life of the century."

But the days of this "trio *en brío*," as Stravinsky calls it, appear to be numbered. Stravinsky is 87 and in precarious health; Craft writes painfully and graphically about the old man's gastric ulcers and thromboses. Conversely, Stravinsky's comments on the trials of decrepitude can be painfully amusing. After one of his recent medical consultations, he observed: "Desert Fathers

and such seeking to update their mortifications could hardly find more ingenious exemplars than in a modern hospital. My day began at ca. 5 A.M. with an urgent and for some reason unpostponable mopping of the cell, and once it began even earlier, when the television started by itself."

The composer, however, reserves his most aristocratic scorn and sardonic style for musical and cultural targets.

**On Advice for a Young Composer:** "If he can turn an honest million outside music he might seriously consider neglecting his talents for a time and



CRAFT (BACKGROUND) AND STRAVINSKY  
A cornucopia of genius.

turn it. Otherwise, and untempted by all lesser sums, he should go directly underground and do nothing but compose."

**On Cultural Centers:** "I foresee huge buildings—the more marginal the contents of the art, the larger and more stolid the containers—tumbled about like blocks in low-scoring Stanford-Binet tests. The two largest of them must inevitably be the 'Research Laboratory for the Readjustment of Acoustics in New Concert Halls' and the 'Hall of Fame for Heroes of Public Relations.'"

**On the Generation Gap:** "Isn't it a tendency of old people of all periods to see everything absolutely and too moralistically, and haven't they always narrowed the issues to their own ever-shortening sight?"

**On Art Collectors and Patrons:** "Art, to middle-class millionaire politicians, is something to be collected and dowered. And this is part of the reason why our yachting millionaires and racehorse millionaires include so many French Impressionist millionaires but

so few musical millionaires: the resalable musical artifacts are comparatively insignificant."

**On Foundations:** "Money may kindle but it cannot by itself, and for very long, burn. (Conscience money may smolder for a while, though.)"

Irascible, intimidating and disquietingly vigorous, Stravinsky's voice is above all that of an artist concerned more with individual acts of creation than with their collective acceptance by a fickle and superficially informed public. It is the underpinning of the absolute faith in his methods and madneses that enabled him to walk coolly through the riots that greeted the 1913 Paris premiere of his mold-shattering *Rite of Spring*. It is the same faith that suffuses *Retrospectives and Conclusions*, most movingly when Stravinsky notes that "to be deprived of art and left alone with philosophy is to be close to Hell."

### Death by the Numbers

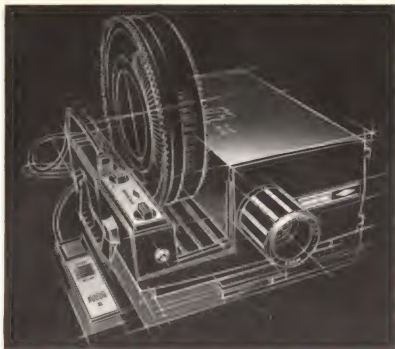
IN A WILD SANCTUARY by William Harrison. 320 pages. Morrow. \$6.95.

For decades after F. Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise*, young novelists spent their energies on books about college life suffused with sophomoric philosophizing and romantic despair. Then came J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, and a spate of imitative books about troubling and precocious children. Since the late '50s and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, the picaresque adventures of rebellious youth seeking wisdom through forbidden experience have been the dominant theme. Now, perhaps, William Harrison's superb second novel—about four contemporary graduate students and their suicide pact—may bring the literary wheel full circle to the campus scene again.

The machinery of the story is simple. One night, drunk and excited at the sight of blood (from a razor slash on one of their wrists), four young men draw numbers from a hat and seemingly in jest agree to kill themselves in order, without revealing the pact or the motive. The four are loners, dependent upon each other in tangled psychological ways. Adler is a fat, ugly and lonely neater from the Ozarks, who cannot reconcile his hillbilly background with his aspirations in botany and his love of dance and literature. Pless, a young psychologist whose feelings have been frozen since his father's death in a foolish flying accident, and Stoker, a hopeful writer still struggling with sexual incompetence, grew up together in Florida as the sons of Air Force pilots.

The prime apostle of self-destruction in the group is Clive, a mathematician and galloping fantasist. Deserted by his family and raised in the ghetto, he seems demonically set on the destruction of the others. After Stoker presumably jumps off a building and Adler drowns himself in a greenhouse fish





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tank. Stoker's father—a square but sympathetically drawn colonel—sets out to unravel the mystery and discovers that suicide has turned into murder.

**lago and Clive.** Following the four boys and the colonel, the author explores the minds of troubled youth and the sexual and emotional problems of their parents. He also probes the impact of such contemporary events as the Viet Nam War and the cultural anomie that characterizes today's generation gap. In the hands of Clive, even the philosophical jargon of youth becomes a powerful weapon. "The Turks like things broken and helpless. Destruction is a form of possession," he observes in an lagoon-like attempt to dominate the inquisitive colonel. "War is the great sexual game. You could say that castration is the goal. And enemies are always, in a sense, lovers. They experience an interesting comradeship in their fear. And the true soldier—the real killer—is always glad to have an object to murder. He wants to put his training to work and mate with his victim in a little dance of death, you see." And so, it turns out, does Clive.

Exploring the nature of evil is a preoccupation of the author, who teaches creative writing and literature at the University of Arkansas. In his first novel, *The Theologian*, a young divinity student seeks salvation through extreme sinfulness. This time, by shaping the image of evil as lover and destroyer, Harrison has traced a remarkable voyage into the world of psychological and social morality for an age which seems to have lost its moral bearings.

## Alexander's Band

FIRE FROM HEAVEN by Mary Renault. 375 pages. Pantheon. \$7.95.

*"I only say, ask yourself who gains most. Olympias gains everything, because this match will lose her everything, if the King outlives it. Demosthenes gains the blood of the man he hates worse than death; the Athenians gain a civil war in Macedonia, if we play our part, with the kingship in doubt, or passed to a boy they make light of, the more so since he's in disfavor. Darius, whose gold you want to keep even if it hangs you, gains even more..."*

After a while, the battle-worn reader may feel he has little to gain by following the fortunes of the local satraps up and down the Peloponnese in this flagrantly detailed novel about Alexander the Great's first 20 years. Not only is the cast large and devious, but the archaeological displays are as plentiful as prize vegetable exhibits at a fair.

Author Renault, whose specialty is Hellenic myth and culture, has written better disciplined, more absorbing books (*The Last of the Wine*, *The King Must Die*). Here she appears to be limited by her slightly blinkered view of Alexander. Granting him his historic virtues—pre-

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cocity, courage, leadership and tactical genius—she dissembles on the crucial matter of his sexuality. After Achilles and Patroclus, Alexander and Hephaestion (one of his generals) were the best-known best friends of the ancient world. In the novel, however, though the author surrounds her hero with Hephaestion, an overt invert, and a band of other young men, Alexander himself remains pure, sublimated and inevitably prissy. He not only has no faults; he has no appetites, an odd condition for a young hero who, according to popular legend, later wept because he had no more worlds to conquer.\* The result is an important vacuum at the book's center that is methodically filled by a lot of learning—which can be a dangerous thing too.

### Country-Squire Roman

EDWARD GIBBON: MEMOIRS OF MY LIFE. Edited from the manuscripts by Georges A. Bonnard. 346 pages; Funk & Wagnalls. \$10.

In the contemporary imagination, Edward Gibbon seems to be eternally posed against a painted backdrop of the Roman Empire, proudly holding the six volumes of *Decline and Fall* as if he presumed to be part of Roman history himself. Yet no matter how long readers stare—it has been nearly 200 years now—the country-squire Englishman and his awesome subject still make a curious match.

Gibbon was a small man, just over five feet, and so fat that when he knelt to a lady she had to summon a servant to hoist him to his feet. Rather fussily elegant in his dress—flowered velvet suit, lots of ruffles, snuffbox to flutter over—Gibbon exuded a tepid blandness. Joshua Reynolds painted a deadly portrait of him. His profile is distinctly not that of a Roman emperor. He has the eyes of a maiden aunt, a tiny Cupid's mouth, and a second chin far more impressive than the first. Even his hands manage to look pudgily repressed.

An exhaustive version of the unfinished yet classic work popularly known as Gibbon's *Autobiography*, edited by Swiss Specialist Georges Bonnard, is now out in the U.S. Bonnard includes Gibbon's notes, his own, and two appendices. Nothing in these pages, however, suggests that Reynolds' portrait was misleading. The alliance of Gibbon and Rome remains one of those successful marriages that amaze by sheer illogic.

**Momentary Glow.** Gibbon got off to an unlikely start to be historian of anything. Until he was in his teens, he was so frail that his father, Edward Gibbon, gave the name Edward to several succeeding sons—just in case. By his own account, young Gibbon “swallowed more Phisic than food,” had a “strange



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\* In fact, according to Plutarch, who started the legend, Alexander wept because, with an infinity of worlds, he had not yet fully conquered even one.

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nervous affection" in his legs, and was bitten by "a dog most vehemently suspected of madness."

At 16, he became a Roman Catholic. His distressed father shipped him to Switzerland, and on Calvin's home ground the conversion was undone. "My temper is not very susceptible of enthusiasm," Gibbon wrote. Yet once Catholicism, which he had described as "a momentary glow of Enthusiasm," had faded, he rekindled the glow for a girl he met during his Swiss exile, Susanne Curchod, destined to be remembered as the mother of the writer and celebrated salon keeper, Mme. de Staël. The glow was not strong enough to sur-



EDWARD GIBBON (1779)

Urbane and occasionally pompous.

vive separation and the disapproval of relatives.

Gibbon's one ruling passion, contracted at the age of 27, nothing and nobody could cool. In famous words that still move a reader, Gibbon recorded love at first sight of the Eternal City on the evening of Oct. 15, 1764. Yet the gestation period for his great work was strangely drawn out. Three years were frittered away on an abortive history of Switzerland. Finally, in 1772, Gibbon settled down in London with six servants, a parrot and a Pomeranian lapdog to write *Decline and Fall*. He completed it 14 years later, and his success was immediate though not universal. Gibbon swiftly arrived at a celebrity that allowed him to dine with Benjamin Franklin, converse with the Emperor of Austria—and aggravate his own gout. But he and his times were not really in tune. The French Revolution Gibbon dismissed as "popular madness." The 19th century social scientist Walter Bagehot was probably right in judging him to be the sort of man that revolutionary mobs like to hang.

It has been generations since Gibbon's



masterpiece was regarded as definitive. The Greek scholar Richard Porson once wittily observed: "Nor does his humanity ever slumber unless when women are ravished or the Christians persecuted." Today's scholars are more likely to complain that Gibbon was weak on the Byzantine and that he was most responsive to Romans like the Augustans, who resembled himself: "Urbane, accomplished, and occasionally a trifle pompous," as Peter Quennell put it in a Gibbon profile. Despite his limits, unpredictably, erratically, marvelously, Gibbon and Rome did go together. "Gibbon is a kind of bridge," Thomas Carlyle once summed him up, "that connects the antique with the modern ages."

These memoirs, composed in a number of drafts, were all that Edward Gibbon was to write after *Decline and Fall*. Fiddled over by generations of editors—the last extensive revision appeared in London in 1900—the memoirs now seem complete. In *Decline and Fall*, Gibbon erected his monument. In the memoirs, he composed the obituary to go with it. Then, job completed, he promptly died at the age of 57, showing to the end a fine Roman regard for classical climax.

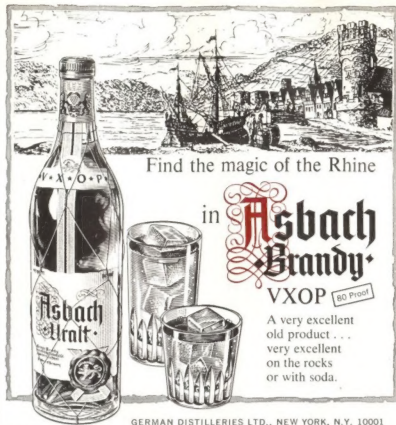
#### What Makes Sammy Runyon?

THE GANG THAT COULDN'T SHOOT STRAIGHT by Jimmy Breslin. 249 pages. Viking. \$5.95.

Last summer Jimmy Breslin, a licensed sentimental tough-guy journalist, startled New York by running in the Democratic primary for the office of president of the city council on Norman Mailer's ticket. Now, running for the office of tough comic novelist, Breslin proves slightly more deft with bullets than he did with ballots.

The trouble begins when Anthony "Baccala" Pastrumo Sr., one of five big New York Mafia bosses, decides to revive the old six-day bicycle race as a gimmick for gamblers. Baccala, who would rather tie a man to a jukebox and heave him into the ocean, cuts a morose upstart young hood named Kid Sally Palumbo in on the action in order to pacify Palumbo and his murderous followers. Kid Sally, who "couldn't run a gas station at a profit even if he stole the customers' cars," bungles the operation and then sets out to knock off Baccala and his gang. Caught in the crossfire is a ludicrous love interest between Palumbo's sister and an artistic con man imported from Italy to take part in the aborted bike race.

**Lion with B.O.** Breslin parades a gaggle of neo-Runyonesque caricatures, proving mainly that Damon's were pitheist. There is, for instance, 425-pound Big Jolly Catalano, who likes two girls at once and "always takes his clothes off when he eats"—not to mention Roz the Meter Maid, Tony the Indian, Joe the Wop, Beppo the Dwarf and a lion with body odor. Yet the book is funny, particularly on the sadistic Tom-and-



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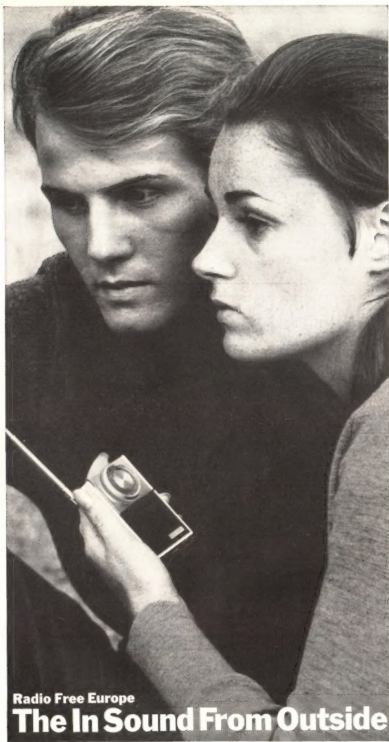


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Breslin's side-of-the-mouth humor proceeds from flat understatement followed immediately by clarifying overstatement: "Raymond the Wolf passed away in his sleep one night from natural causes; his heart stopped beating when the three men who slipped into his bedroom stuck knives in it." Occasionally he offers a bemused sociological insight: "Southern Italy is the same as the rest of the world. People stroke and polish machines while goats urinate in their houses." The trouble is that after a while the joke, like chewing gum on a bedpost, loses its flavor.

### Best Sellers

#### FICTION

1. *The Godfather*, Puzo (1 last week)
2. *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, Fowles (2)
3. *The House on the Strand*, de Maupier (3)
4. *The Inheritors*, Robbins (4)
5. *The Seven Minutes*, Wallace (5)
6. *In This House of Brede*, Godden (7)
7. *The Promise*, Potok (9)
8. *The Love Machine*, Susann (8)
9. *The Andromeda Strain*, Crichton (10)
10. *Puppet on a Chain*, MacLean (6)

#### NONFICTION

1. *The Selling of the President 1968*, McGinniss (1)
2. *Present at the Creation*, Acheson (3)
3. *The Peter Principle*, Peter and Hull (2)
4. *Mary Queen of Scots*, Fraser (7)
5. *The Collapse of the Third Republic*, Shirer (6)
6. *Ambassador's Journal*, Galbraith (4)
7. *Prime Time*, Kendrick (5)
8. *My Life and Prophecies*, Dixon and Noorbergen (10)
9. *The American Heritage Dictionary* (8)
10. *My Life with Jacqueline Kennedy*, Gallagher (9)

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